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ABSTRACT

This publication contains frank discussions of intercultural educators' high and low points in North Carolina during the past five years. Since the fall of 1971 the social studies curriculum for the public schools of North Carolina has specifically included the study of Africa and Asia. There are seven articles. The first article discusses why and how the social studies curriculum became internationalized. The second article describes a project which developed supplementary materials dealing with Africa and Asia for classroom use. The next four articles examine the experiences of a group of students participating in a travel-study program in Nigeria. How racial factors, personality, and demographic factors affected the students' experiences is examined. The last article discusses the characteristics of a successful intercultural program. A key characteristic is relevance. Students demonstrate a greater desire to learn that which has specific meaning and relevance for their everyday concerns while, simultaneously, greater effort is required to learn that which possesses the quality of distance. A successful intercultural program must overcome the problem of distance. (Author/RM)

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INTERCULTURAL AND INTERNATIONAL EDUCATION IN THE SCHOOLS OF NORTH CAROLINA

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Project Abroad in Ibadan, Nigeria, Summer 1975

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PREFACE

Since the fall of 1971 the social studies curriculum for the public schools of North Carolina has specifically included the study of Africa and Asia; the seventh grade, for example, is entirely devoted to Africa, Asia, and Oceania. Although North Carolina was by no means the first state to adopt such an ambitious yet realistic curriculum, it remains one of the few states in which each of its school districts enables and expects students to learn about Africa and Asia—societies which comprise such a significant part of our world community.

How such an alteration came about in the social studies curriculum of North Carolina is only briefly mentioned here, although it is a matter deserving greater attention. Such an endeavor would be instructive to North Carolinians as well as to educators from other states with intercultural and international interests. As with any significant modification in something as complex and far-reaching as a curriculum change, there have been structural elements requiring change and the human element whose cooperation has been essential. The difficulties have been enormous and, in fact, are still in the process of being resolved.

It is that ongoing process of resolution that is the subject of the following essays. The assumption is that by providing information about certain developments since 1971, educators, teachers, and area specialists both inside and outside North Carolina can conceivably obtain some benefit from both positive and negative aspects of this experience. At this stage it is realistic to claim that we have *an* answer to meet the needs of intercultural education in the state. As more experience is acquired additional answers will no doubt emerge, but I sincerely doubt if *the* answer will ever appear. Nor will other states find it desirable to emulate what has evolved in North Carolina. Too many variables differ from one state to another. Nonetheless the example and experience are recorded.

Although Africa was the focus of the various projects based at Duke University, the process involved in learning about members of another culture is similar whether it is an African, Asian or an American subculture. As was evident from the Ibadan Project, the participants had less difficulty relating to Nigerians than to members of their own group. There are numerous reasons for this rather typical behavior. Among them was the presence of black/white

American cultural differences which helped to shape perceptions of the Nigerian reality, while simultaneously the basic American cultural identity of the group kept it together and separate as a distinct social entity while in Nigeria. The complexity and difficulty of learning about people of another culture is great. But we do it continually, whether consciously or unconsciously, unless we happen to live in an unusual type of isolated community. If this social complexity on a community or a world basis is viewed as a source of richness—rather than as a threat—then intercultural learning is a delight. Normally what we attempt to learn about people from another culture focuses upon how they have adapted to their environment, how they achieve a livelihood, how they govern themselves, and how they organize themselves socially. During this learning process, we need to look at ourselves, to discern similarities and differences between ourselves and our neighbors. This knowledge enables us to enhance our own understanding of the world community and how we relate to it.

What has been recorded here has required a frank discussion of intercultural educators' high and low points in North Carolina during the past five years. Some of this information is of a sensitive nature. For this reason, the Ibadan Project participants, who are discussed at length below, are not identified. I would like, however, to express my sincere appreciation to them. Their assigned task was as difficult as it was sensitive. Each of the sixteen individuals responded in a distinctive fashion and, I assume, each will have been permanently and positively influenced by their experience. The invasion of their privacy was a constant burden to each of them, but their commitment to the project was sufficient to enable them to suffer the inconveniences and proddings by those of us examining critically their responses and attitudes. They have paid a substantial personal price to enhance intercultural education and I respect them immensely for their efforts. To the participants in the two African Curriculum Development Projects I would also like to acknowledge their essential contribution in making intercultural education in North Carolina a realistic possibility. They have encountered and exceeded some very high expectations in fulfilling their obligations as professional teachers. It has been my privilege to work with all of these individuals.

G. W. H.

Durham
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INTERCULTURAL EDUCATION IN THE SOCIAL STUDIES CURRICULUM

Elizabeth M. Bullard

The temper of the times was a critical factor in internationalizing the North Carolina social studies curriculum. During the early 1960's an opportunity arose for statewide curriculum revision. The head of instructional services for the state's Department of Public Instruction requested a routine revision of the guidelines used in the elementary curriculum. Upon completion of this task, a subsequent request was made by the newly appointed social studies supervisors to reexamine the entire social studies framework for grades 1 - 12.

Simultaneously a plethora of national social studies projects emerged giving life to the "new social studies." Results from these projects pointed toward fresh directions for cognitive and affective teaching/learning situations. But even a cursory examination of the state's curriculum compared with findings of the national projects showed a serious imbalance. Glaring omissions of major areas of the world such as Asia, Africa, Latin America, and the U.S.S.R. existed. The children in grades 1 - 6 could look only scantily beyond the borders of the "West." The curriculum weaknesses would have to be rectified or ignored.

In 1970 the North Carolina Department of Public Instruction strongly recommended a new social studies curriculum for grades K - 12. The concepts of "man," "culture," and "change" dominated the proposed curriculum. The following excerpts from the informal guidelines give rationale and direction for an international dimension:

> . . . The experiential background of many children is more varied and richer than that found among students of former generations. Via television and radio the average first grader is already exposed to national problems such as pollution, inflation and crime; to international issues such as war, trade, and cultural misunderstanding and to other topics dealing with political, social, and economic well-being . . .
>
> . . . In a democratic society characterized by cultural pluralism and revolutionary change, the individual is constantly confronted with the necessity of making choices between alternative ways of life and courses of action . . .

> . . . Changing human relationships at home and abroad require the expansion of social studies content to include studies of people and regions which heretofore have largely been omitted from the curriculum. . . . Increased interdependence among human societies and the United States' role in world affairs require that American citizens become more knowledgeable about peoples in other parts of the world. No longer can we afford to ignore developments in Africa, Asia, and Latin America. It is of vital importance that we rid ourselves of the myths and misconceptions we as a people have traditionally held concerning those whose cultures differ from our own . . . .

One of the major proponents of international/intercultural education was the State Superintendent of Public Instruction, Dr. A. Craig Phillips, who assumed his elected position in 1969. As a school superintendent he had participated earlier in study tours abroad designed to develop international and intercultural understanding. The study tours, in addition to his personal commitment to the necessity of human understanding in and across national boundaries, meant that the state superintendent himself was enthusiastic about intercultural education. He became an inside advocate. Moreover, the Assistant State Superintendent for Program Services, Dr. Jerome Melton, as well as the state social studies supervisors, were strong advocates of the new curriculum. They worked cooperatively with social studies educators from colleges and universities in the state who possessed backgrounds in curriculum development and teaching methodology. Strong leadership and unstinting assistance also came from an unexpected source—college and university level Asia and Africa specialists. For years these specialists contributed their talents, time and funding expertise to make the international/intercultural portion of the revised curriculum a successful reality.

The state social studies advisory committee, composed of teachers on all grade levels, supervisors, principals, college and university area specialists, social studies methods professors and social studies personnel from the Department of Public Instruction, was also a valuable force. This committee was made up of the "legitimizers" and to a degree the "inside advocates" for the new structure. Although this committee as a body did not exhibit a great deal of leadership, its reaction and support were essential.

The specific international/intercultural programs and strategies sought included the following:

1) A social studies curriculum that would present a balanced view of the world in contrast to the traditional emphasis on Europe and the United States.

2) Instruction about culture areas and their concomitant ideas in such a way as to enable students to consider issues and concerns from the point of view of people of the country under study in contrast to traditional rote chronology of facts as end-in-themselves. The transfer of the hit ideas of themes to a global scope was inevitable.

3) Developments of necessary skills to continue and enhance the above objectives beyond formal study.

Consultation with college and university social studies specialists brought into focus three major difficulties inevitable in attempting change of this magnitude. These were and continue to be: 1) teacher preparation—in-service and pre-service; 2) textbooks and teaching materials; and 3) general lay and professional support for the change. A statewide advisory committee, with the consultative help of nationally recognized social studies specialists (from institutions working on national projects and from other states working through similar changes, such as Wisconsin and New York, in addition to intercultural specialists from governmental agencies and foundations), recommended that there be a cyclical organization that would make it possible by the end of the seventh grade for all students to inquire into cultures with orientations different from their own. High school would then provide opportunities for studies of greater depth into specific areas of the world. Furthermore it was recommended that the new curriculum be placed in a framework of conceptual generalizations and taught in a manner that consciously involved students in the learning process.

A television series was developed during the changeover period to aid teachers and students get the curriculum "off and running." Again, unexpected assistance came from persons representing new techniques and new approaches to cognitive and affective teaching. At their own expense they produced TV programs to help teachers make the transition. The curriculum specialist for the TV series was later named social studies consultant for international education.

Organizations outside the state (African-American Institute, Inter-Culture Associates, Center for War/Peace Studies, etc.) also conducted workshops in local school systems throughout the state and at state and regional conferences. The state social studies supervisors themselves spent considerable time at Inquiry and Value Analysis Workshops in institutions of higher learning outside North

Carolina. Colleges and universities in the state simultaneously conducted summer programs to expand the content and methodological background of teachers. Those supported by federal and private foundations at Duke University, North Carolina State University, and the University of North Carolina at Greensboro have had state-wide effects.

Davidson College for two years hosted a federally and privately funded workshop for college and university level Asia and Africa specialists of North Carolina to familiarize them with a variety of techniques and methodologies needed by junior and senior high teachers to teach international/intercultural content effectively. These specialists have gained credibility with local school officials and now, through a state-wide network, consult with school systems, committees, and teachers on curriculum matters in addition to providing in-service training for teachers.

The Department of Public Instruction, through the Center for Learning Resources, also reviews and maintains for examination materials (print and non-print) which are available for international education. The reviews are mailed to all schools in the state. Foundation funds set up a permanent Resource Center at North Carolina State University which enables teachers and curriculum specialists to develop instructional materials.

Once the revised curriculum was inaugurated, concerns of teachers, curriculum specialists, and area studies scholars emerged: how to differentiate what was being studied about a geographic region at the middle grade level with that on the high school level, and how to put people of other cultures at the center of the student's learning. Although in-service sessions were being held throughout the state and specific learning materials were being identified, there was a recognized lack of articulation in materials recommended for various grade levels as well as a recognized underdevelopment of an "intercultural" teaching orientation. Area and instructional specialists suggested several remedies. Implementation of these ideas brought together small teams of classroom teachers with instructional and area specialists for intensive summer workshops. During the initial weeks there was a period of concentrated content study followed by the classroom teachers developing people-oriented cultural teaching units designed to enable students to become more aware of the universality or the human conditions whatever the cultural content.

A complementary project was to structure an overseas cultural seminar

(the Ibadan Project) in which some teachers involved in the preparation of teaching units could actually test the methods learned for gaining cultural insights and lessening cultural tensions. Effective methods and approaches identified during these numerous projects now provide the basis for a concerted effort to improve pre- and in-service training for teachers throughout the state.

Refinement and widespread application of the approach may well illustrate a means for developing a viable intercultural dimension in our learning and teaching.

SEARCHING FOR AN APPROACH

Gerald W. Hartwig

During the summer of 1974, while working with secondary social studies teachers on the second African Curriculum Development Project, a pointed question by one of the teachers to me (as director of the project) elicited an interesting response, interesting at least to me. The question had been asked after the seminar had broken up following the presentation of a guest lecture on West African sculpture; when I indicated my disappointment in the presentation I was thereupon asked to explain the basis for my negative assessment. In answering I differentiated for the first time between two personal experiences that had unconsciously shaped my approach to intercultural education. What had concerned me about the visitor's lecture was simple enough to express. It had been an informative and well designed lecture—complete with appropriate artifacts and personal experiences related to their acquisition. Yet scant attention was paid, for example, to cultural values assigned to any given piece of sculpture by the society in question. The objects, in effect, became quaint things, totally divorced from their original meaningful roles. The human emotions once related to these sculptured symbols were nowhere to be found. They had been sanitized to the degree of sterility. To me, therefore, it had been a chilling and disturbing presentation. That others in the group—my students—did not share my concern only heightened my frustration. Somewhere along the line, I had failed to accomplish one of my primary teaching goals. And, according to my own assessment, I felt that I had achieved much greater success the previous year with a similar group of public school teachers, thus compounding my dilemma. At about that time I made the decision to attempt an experiment to help me determine whether the teaching approach I had been using had any validity at all. The outcome of this experiment in intercultural education is the subject of this publication.

But before discussing the results of the experiment, it is worthwhile to provide a sketch of the exhilarating as well as painful developments leading up to efforts to test a particular educational approach. During the 1971-72 academic year, the Division of Social Studies of the Department of Public Instruction introduced a modified social studies curriculum throughout the public schools of North Carolina. New components in the curriculum included the study of African and Asian societies at the seventh and tenth grade levels. Social studies courses at the secondary level are normally optional throughout the state; thus a

majority of students in an average school do not elect to study either Africa or Asia. In junior high, however, the social studies courses are required of all students—thus exposing them for the first time (and frequently for the last time) —to information about Africa and Asia. As a historian of African History at Duke University, I had no professional reason to be interested in the new curriculum. Nor was I aware of the impressive efforts in 1970-71 by the state's Division of Social Studies to provide the appropriate teachers with knowledge and materials about Africa and Asia before implementing the new curriculum. The School Services Division of the African-American Institute had assisted the Division with the African portion of the orientation, thus Africanists within the state like myself were generally unaware of the effort.

My involvement commenced shortly after the school year started in the fall of 1971, and for very selfish reasons. My oldest son happened to be in the seventh grade that year. Consequently it was as a parent that I tried to learn what was occurring in his social studies classes. It was frankly very disturbing to see my son, who had lived four and a half years of his life in Tanzania, demonstrating so little interest in Africa, let alone Asia. With my three other children scheduled to follow a similar course of study, it was necessary to decide then and there whether to grumble in the background or to become actively involved in some as yet undefined way. Because my wife and I were committed to public education in a time when private education was rapidly accelerating, there was actually little choice. Hence I made tactful enquiries to learn as much as possible about the African-Asian segment of the new curriculum.

It took little effort to acquire a rather fundamental understanding of the problem: the teachers were inadequately prepared and the materials available were limited and, often as not, simply poor in quality. The magnitude of the problem was rather staggering. My decision to concentrate on materials at this stage reflected my feeling that I was better qualified to work on these rather than directly with teachers (their numbers alone were awesome).

The next stage was the critical one: to do something about the problem as I had identified it. After all, several thousand other perceptive educators in the state had undoubtedly diagnosed the same problem in precisely the same way. For advice, I turned to my distinguished colleague in the Department of Education, Professor William H. Cartwright, a social studies specialist. He gave me additional information concerning the decision to include the study of Africa and Asia in the public curriculum, but he refrained from suggesting a particular

course of action without first meeting with those officials specifically responsible for implementing the social studies curriculum. Thus an appointment was made with Mr. Jesse Vuncannon, Director of the Division of Social Studies.

Looking back on this particular session, its sensitiveness and critical nature were not immediately apparent to me as we spoke in general terms about the problem I saw. It was no doubt just as well. Professor Cartwright accompanied me, which placed a respected authority in my corner, an authority who had already warned Mr. Vuncannon and his colleagues that the revised curriculum would pose serious problems for teachers. Anticipating the worst in the way of criticism, Mr. Vuncannon requested his staff—June Gulliard, Mary Vann Eslinger, John Ellington, as well as Betty Bullard from another division—to be present. The discussion proceeded cautiously but amicably. Because the curriculum itself was not under attack, and because Mr. Vuncannon and his staff were equally aware of the problems being raised, serious disagreements simply did not emerge. The initially tense atmosphere gave way to one that was more business-like—rather than assuming a defensive stance. Mr. Vuncannon and his staff acknowledged the difficulties and then asked Professor Cartwright and me what means we might suggest to overcome these difficulties.

I had not come to that meeting with a well-developed plan on paper, nor even in mind. Given my interests and capabilities the need for supplementary classroom materials, however, was the priority item I stressed. There was no controversy in my proposal, simply a request to develop the mechanics for accomplishing the end. With that request, the meeting came to a pleasant end. The opportunity for cooperation was there. Now it was just a matter of developing an idea into a feasible program. Unfortunately, no financial assistance would be available from the Division of Social Studies. Yet the prospect for cooperation represented a significant gain from the discussion, a prospect that was not to disappoint me in the succeeding months and years.

The meeting with the Division of Social Studies staff took place in the early spring of 1972, too late to develop a program for the up-coming summer months. But a possible program for the African portion of the seventh grade social studies curriculum began to take shape. Its only serious shortcoming appeared to be the estimated expense. The plan required the presence of approximately fourteen seventh grade teachers on the Duke University campus for two sessions of summer school, a total of ten weeks. Could we find the necessary teachers to give up their summer to developing teaching materials for their

counterparts throughout the state, in addition to paying a considerable tuition for and related living expenses? The prospects did not appear particularly promising. External funding loomed increasingly as the only solution. Thus a proposal to the National Endowment for the Humanities was prepared and submitted in the fall of 1972.

Because this particular proposal incorporated virtually all of my basic ideas relating to intercultural education and teacher training or retraining, the rationale and assumptions pertaining to the project are briefly introduced. In the first instance, any materials prepared under the aegis of the program were necessarily supplementary to whatever texts the teachers already had in their classrooms.

Secondly, because the revised social studies curriculum placed Africa and Asia in two different grade levels—the seventh and tenth, it was desirable to concentrate the prepared materials for the seventh grade on some aspect that would not be duplicated thereafter in the tenth grade. The assumption was that such duplication would provoke unwanted resistance and lethargy from students, in addition to being a poor use of time and resources.

A third consideration was the overriding desire to provide meaningful materials for students. The supplementary nature of the proposed materials was in itself advantageous: it permitted greater latitude in choosing what to present and how to present them. Selecting materials particularly meaningful for seventh grade students in North Carolina was a somewhat different matter. It was apparent from simple observation that an attractively prepared textbook could not necessarily be equated with meaningfulness. Regardless of its accuracy or variety of format, the information presented lacked reality for the students. It was merely information to be learned because someone had decreed it was necessary, even good. But the entire endeavor was characterized by a remoteness and esoteric quality that boded ill for the revised curriculum. Consequently it was essential for whatever supplementary materials we proposed to possess qualites that would make sense to twelve and thirteen year old students.

The fourth prerequisite was a corrollary to the third. The materials should be sufficiently attractive to enable the interested (or potentially interested) student to learn in spite of a disinterested teacher. The dearth of good supplementary materials frequently required students to rely solely on information from an encyclopedia. This is not to denigrate the value of encyclopedias, but if that becomes the sole reference source, the limitation is obvious.

The fifth consideration was to incorporate the humanities, the art, music and literature—whether written or oral—into the materials. Such a consideration initially had little to do with the proposed funding agency; the humanities component had been regarded as essential prior to the search for a potential funding source. Because the humanities are essentially subjective and inherently value-laden, I wanted the students exposed to this dimension in an alien society. It would enable students and teachers alike to learn how other people in the world community approach such common concerns as authority, family relationships, education, or death. In a very real sense, it would illustrate both the universal concerns found in the human community and the varying ways of expressing and satisfying these concerns.

The sixth and seventh factors are interrelated. On the one hand it was assumed that it would be possible to locate sufficiently capable teachers currently teaching Africa and Asia to prepare the desired type of materials. On the other hand it was assumed that these same teachers would be the most sensitive to the needs and interests of their students. Disadvantages associated with these two assumptions are readily discernible. The teachers not only lacked the expertise of professional social studies curriculum developers, but they also lacked the necessary knowledge and understanding of Africa and Africans—two critical arguments against using such an approach. The only serious retort I could give to counter these arguments was to emphasize the inadequacies of the materials prepared by the acknowledged experts. The apparent alternative—to utilize the teacher's methodological skills and their sensitivity to student interest while simultaneously providing assistance in curriculum development and the acquisition of knowledge—at least deserved a try. The results could scarcely be any more disappointing than what was already available.

The final factor evolved from a concern also voiced during the planning stages. Similar collaborative efforts between teachers and academic experts had been tried elsewhere. Since only disastrous cases were cited, I was forced to consider the possible folly of any collaborative assumptions. Apparently the perceived needs and requirements of the various factions in the cases cited had become so rigid that cooperation was ultimately doomed. Still I saw no theoretical reason why collaboration should necessarily fail; there was too much to be gained from a truly cooperative effort not to try it. Furthermore it was within my jurisdiction to call forth from the academic community what might be a reasonable flexible approach. The principle shaping the relationship between academics and teachers was that each possessed a sphere of expertise and that

the expertise of each group had to be mutually respected. The status differences within the educational pecking order therefore had to be held in abeyance, otherwise the ideal of coequality would be unapproachable.

These eight considerations--that supplementary materials be developed, that seventh grade materials should differ significantly from those taught in the tenth grade, that materials meaningful to students be prepared, that the materials be interestingly presented so as to attract students, that the humanities be given a significant role in the materials, that capable teachers could develop such materials, that experienced teachers best knew the needs and interests of their students, and that teachers and academics respect one another's expertise--eventually became operative principles for the initial African curriculum development project. The National Endowment for the Humanities funded the proposal, thus enabling the twelve month project to commence during the summer of 1973.

The task of locating those experienced and highly capable seventh grade teachers was facilitated by the Division of Social Studies staff of the North Carolina Department of Public Instruction. This staff approached numerous social studies supervisors throughout the state and asked them to nominate teachers from their particular systems who had, despite the general limitations of poor preparation and inadequate materials, demonstrated both an interest in the African portion of the curriculum and success in the classroom. To facilitate the diffusion of materials, and to disarm possible criticisms of regional favoritism, we sought the fourteen participants from widely-dispersed systems of the state's one hundred school systems.

The planned summer program included five weeks of formal classes focusing on various aspects of African studies. A second five week block of time was set aside for the actual development of teaching materials. No sooner had the summer program begun when the state legislature passed a statute which lengthened the school year for teachers from nine to ten months; the project's length was therefore shortened by two weeks in order to enable the teachers to report to their respective systems in mid-August. The time factor immediately became an unexpected, intrusive element and anxieties increased accordingly. Formal classes and the intensive reading program had to be reduced by more than a week. The teachers' restlessness to get on with their specific assignments forced the issue, and I saw no advantage in holding them back. Hence the teachers formed seven teams consisting of two members each. Each team accepted the responsibility for developing a teaching unit on a given subject.

To provide some logic for the materials developed, I had made the decision during the planning stages to develop units dealing with specific African societies. Such an approach complemented existing textual materials with very little duplication. It would allow for an in-depth examination of a group of people, beyond the rather rudimentary and superficial treatment characteristic of an elementary survey, and an encounter with the realities of another human society as it wrestled with daily affairs. By concentrating upon people who had learned to thrive in a given environment and who had evolved complex ways of making their lives meaningful within that context, the material would presumably make more sense to twelve and thirteen year old students than a pedestrian examination of social, political and economic systems *per se*.

The societies selected included the Amhara of Ethiopia, the Bini of Nigeria, the Dan of Liberia and the Ivory Coast, the Mbuti of Zaire, the Somali of Somalia, and the Zulu of South Africa. The seventh unit was to consist of a general geographical introduction to the continent leading into the specific climatic and geographical conditions under which the six societies existed. Considerable thought accompanied the selection of these six societies. A primary consideration was that sufficient literature in English had to be available on each society to enable the teachers to accumulate information. I erred miserably on Dan. The best literature is in German. The presence of a German-speaking secretary saved the day by the fortuitous translation of the appropriate passages.

For comparative purposes, however, the differences between these societies was more than satisfactory. Their geographical environments ranged from desert to forest to highland. Their recorded history, reflecting the importance of the past to the present society, varied: from the extreme of some three thousand years in the case of the Amhara to the Mbuti, whose historical perception is normally measured in terms of two or three generations. The political and social systems varied from kings (representing a complex hierarchical society) to systems with no single ruling authority—yet with a satisfactory political system. Economics in the pre-colonial period varied from hunters and gatherers to pastoralists to agriculturalists. The religious systems also represented variety: traditional forms of religious belief, Islam of some one thousand years in duration, and Christianity, with an existence of approximately fifteen hundred years. Finally, there was the artistic consideration—in some societies sculpturing and artistic metal work was found while it was absent in others. Music and oral literature, on the other hand, were present in all societies.

Not too surprisingly, the selection of these particular societies stimulated more controversy than any other phase of the project. The feeling that a better selection of societies was possible represented one type of criticism. Why should a relatively unknown Nigerian society like the Bini be selected when perhaps the Hausa, Igbo or Yoruba—groups more likely recognized by teachers and possibly even students—would provide a more plausible Nigerian representation? Aside from the inherent problems and criticisms that would be associated with the selection of any one of the three major Nigerian ethnic groups, I selected the Bini for historical reasons. The kingdom of Benin offered a lengthy and impressive history for a forest state in West Africa; Furthermore examples of its marvelous artistic work in bronze were to be found in most texts. Therefore my question was: why not examine the society that produced this praise-worthy art form? Each selected society offered particular advantages for my selection—which is not to say that others could not have been selected for equally valid reasons. But the Dan, with their sculpturing tradition, could be juxtaposed with the Bini because their political systems differed so radically. The Amhara and Somali represented linguistically-related societies with long histories of Christianity on the one hand and Islam on the other hand, living in very different environments, with very different political systems. The Zulu, with their heroic and awesome military power during the nineteenth century, are an example of a society subdued and then subordinated to the European government in South Africa. The Mbuti found their way into the group for numerous reasons: one reason was the possibility of confronting forthrightly the stereotype held by virtually all of us about these people. Students were especially likely to recognize them once they realized that the Mbuti were representatives of Africa's small pygmoid population. Other reasons included identifying their phenomenal adaptation to their environment, their political system, and their music, which is unlike that of any other African society. Therefore criticisms of the societies selected have not been regarded as particularly significant.

But there was criticism of a more fundamental nature—criticism which reflected major concerns for those teaching about Africa and Asian cultures. Eliminating stereotypes held by American teachers and students alike has been a major goal of international education. Thus there have been efforts to stress the modern rather than the traditional, the urban rather than the rural, industry rather than agriculture, the nation rather than separate societies, the literate rather than the illiterate, and so forth. Selection of what should indeed be taught is therefore one of the most divisive and explosive issues among academics and teachers. Consensus has thus far been impossible to achieve, nor is it

necessarily desirable. When I selected specific African societies to examine, the project was immediately vulnerable to the accusation that the materials were basically rural and heavily weighted toward the traditional rather than the modern. To deny this would be foolish on my part. But I assumed that that particular issue was less critical than others although it was appropriately taken into consideration. While anthropological literature was extensively used, for example, the teachers realized its limitations in describing contemporary conditions. And for the most part, contemporary problems in relation to the society's past mode of life and value system became a major consideration in preparing the units. After all, the goal was to prepare materials which concentrated as much as possible on people who happened to live in Africa, but who experienced opportunities and problems in their daily lives similar to those encountered in the United States. In this way our students would have a greater chance to identify emotionally and intellectually with the people they were studying, particularly if younger people of their own age could be woven into the units.

Whether the setting was urban rather than rural, or the technology was complex rather than rudimentary, was a moot point. We were much more interested in having students exposed to the relationship between boys and girls, to the prevailing attitudes toward formal education, to the culturally relative concepts of poverty, standards of living, personal status, individual rights, oppression and authority. Problems of this nature daily confront us all. According to the teachers, the needs and interests of students rested on this eccentric foundation and it was necessary to acknowledge and meet this fact of their lives before encouraging them to undertake topics of a more traditional nature. In this particular instance the experience of the teachers determined the approach. To insist upon a more academically sanctioned approach would have been to deny input from the presumed expertise of the teachers.

Because the approach was oriented toward people—regardless of where they lived or under what kind of conditions—criticisms emanating from a legitimate concern over American impressions and attitudes toward Africans could be recognized and acknowledged as valid without invalidating the approach we followed. I had seen no evidence that the straightforward confrontation of erroneous or denigrating stereotypes, an approach avidly pursued during the 1960's, had borne any fruit. Such facile learning is sterile unless firmly rooted in knowledge and understanding that has meaning and significance to the learner. I thought it preferable not to slap the student in the face when he demonstrated

gross ignorance, but, instead, to provide the student with whole and valid information pertaining to African people—to see if new resources would enable the student to evolve his own generalizations of a different quality. Whether tigers are or ever were found in Africa seems a bit trivial. In comparison, humanizing Africans, while portraying their cultural similarities and differences, seems less trite. Furthermore, the intention of the prepared materials was to supplement texts and other relevant sources, not to supplant them; in other words, this would be an enrichment, not simply a corrective process. Within that framework, the criticisms lost much of their potential sting.

There are two additional characteristics of this project which merit discussion. One characteristic was the special procedure followed by the teachers in acquiring their data, while the second relates to the process of assembling their units.

Dividing the teachers into pairs to work cooperatively on a particular unit was a satisfactory arrangement, although it was by no means perfect. The assumption that two heads are better than one was operative. Through discussions pertaining to methodology, information to be included or excluded, or whatever, the lively exchange of ideas was considered beneficial. The team concept also forestalled problems associated with unequal imagination or degree of commitment to the project, although some participants ended up assuming more than their share of the task. Once assignments for specific units were made—at the end of the fourth week—the teams literally moved into the library to find the available and relevant literature. They had to become adequately knowledgeable about their people to prepare a high quality unit. Their anxiety at this stage can only be described as intense, almost detrimental in some cases.

The next stage was the most exciting for me as well as for Mary Vann Eslinger, a staff member of the state's Division of Social Studies who worked closely with me on this phase of the project. During the fifth, sixth, and seventh weeks, we discussed the findings of each team and launched upon the second characteristic feature, the process of bringing into focus the anticipated units. An immediate realization was that a tendency existed to incorporate into each unit all the collected information, since everything collected was obviously significant. Avoiding this inclination became a top priority. It was a price to be paid by me as well as the teachers. It meant that the comparative value used in the original selection of those six particular societies was unceremoniously abandoned. Otherwise each unit would be locked into an unimaginative and

tiresome format. To destroy the tenacious desire to include all relevant—that is, all collected—information, we asked each team a single critical question: what one thing do you want your students to know and remember about this society? Sometimes the question had to be put another way: what is it about these people that has earned your respect? The latter question was possible because each team manifested that peculiar possessive quality associated with specialists who identify with their subjects to the ultimate extent of saying "my people." Once the essential quality was identified, which was normally a very painful decision, it was a matter of selecting the appropriate data to enhance the learning goal. That the unit had to relate consistently to student interests and needs remained a haunting concern.

An unanticipated by-product of the assembling process was the keen competition among the teams to prepare a superior unit. Teaching techniques, motivational devices, and audio-visual aids all became team possessions, jealously guarded from others who might want to borrow and incorporate a few of "our" ideas. I had unconsciously promoted this competitive spirit by expressing a desire to see different formats in the units; six units presented in the same mold would assuredly become repetitive and therefore tiresome for students. My wishes triumphed, but at the expense of group harmony. The possessive, disruptive atmosphere eventually emerged as a joking matter, albeit of an uneasy and sensitive nature.

The impressive qualities of the original drafts created a sense of euphoria. Not that perfection had been uniformly achieved. Frequently the merits of a unit had to be diligently sought out in the presentation or it would be easily missed. The satisfaction came from the innovative contributions of the teachers. They had originally responded to an individual challenge and as a group they still demonstrated a tenacity and perseverance to meet that first challenge successfully. My own assessment coincided with that of the teachers: I had not misjudged their capabilities—and this knowledge brought its own sense of relief.

The next phase consisted of duplicating the voluminous units and insuring that each teacher had all seven units to teach. Determining the practicality and effectiveness of the units within a classroom situation was the critical test for each unit and its component parts. Subsequent revisions followed. Not surprisingly, the student response was positive, even enthusiastic, although the teachers' positive attitude undoubtedly affected their students.

Although the project's primary purpose of developing supplementary materials on Africa was achieved, an equally significant result of the endeavor was strikingly clear. As a means for teachers to learn "things African," the project was very likely even more successful than the stated purpose of developing materials. It was evident by the end of the summer's serious effort that the project's teacher retraining component had unusual potential. Exploiting that potential, however, remained a problem.

Discerning and analyzing a problem on paper or in a discussion is so much easier than actually doing something about it. Teacher retraining has proved to be such a problem. An initial effort to confront this issue in North Carolina from another direction also occurred during the summer of 1973. Dr. Frederick Gaige of Davidson College, again working cooperatively with the staff of the North Carolina Division of Social Studies, attempted what I had opted not to do: to further the retraining of public school teachers responsible for Africa and Asia. Rather than bring teachers in for an intensive study of Africa and/or Asia, Dr. Gaige proposed to utilize the existing in-service training system. To do so, he brought together instructors of African and Asian subjects from colleges and universities throughout the state to prepare them for in-service training work. This approach was designed to have as wide an impact as possible given the ever present limitations imposed by financial restraints. The four week session in 1973 was followed by a second effort the following summer. Approximately forty faculty members participated in the Davidson project during the two summers.

The sessions in the retraining projects were anything but dull, but invariably, the theoretical problem of content versus method consumed precious energy and time. Even relating to the most urgent needs of junior and senior high teachers proved to be exceedingly difficult. Determining specifically what to do in an in-service training format posed yet another dilemma. The unavailability of satisfactory materials repeatedly undermined excellent possibilities. Nonetheless a sizable number of faculty members emerged with a greater appreciation of their possible roles vis-a-vis intercultural education in the state's public schools as well as the inherent difficulties in such an enterprise. A serious shortcoming was related to the in-service training structure itself. Teachers could seldom do anything more than absorb what was presented to them during a session. Because the sessions had to be conducted after a regular school day, teachers exhibited little energy or inclination for intensive work. Intercultural learning, along with most everything else, demands substantial effort.

A third international project also took place during that busy summer of 1973. Dr. Lois Edinger of the University of North Carolina at Greensboro took a group of teachers to Pakistan for eight weeks. This project was preceded by a semester's course work in anticipation of the field experience. Upon their return, the teachers prepared classroom materials for the study of Pakistan while they attended a second semester of course work. Careful preparation for the Pakistan experience, in conjunction with close supervision of the resulting instructional units, revealed yet another highly successful procedure for enhancing intercultural education.

During the fall of 1973 expectations ran high for equally significant projects for the following summer. The Davidson project was to complete its second and final year. Dr. Burton Beers of North Carolina State University submitted a proposal to the National Endowment for the Humanities (NEH) to develop East Asian teaching materials for senior high students. My efforts for 1974 would be similar to that of Dr. Beers: to develop African materials for the senior high level, again with NEH support. Through the enterprising and coordinating efforts of Betty Bullard, representing the North Carolina Division of Social Studies, both proposals received the necessary funding. Yet another spin-off during 1975-76 was an effort to develop curricular materials for the study of Canada under the supervision of Professor Richard A. Preston, Director of Duke's Canadian Studies Center.

It is unnecessary to describe this second Africa project in the same detail as the first. Obviously I followed similar procedures the second time around although the subject matter was completely different. The importance of the project to me was related less to the actual accomplishments than to the questions it raised in my own mind. At the end of the second summer I was no longer so sure of my approach to teacher retraining. That marvelous state of euphoria that emerged in 1973 did not appear in 1974, nor did I have the sensation that it was just over the horizon. Needless to say, my confidence was shaken. The following is a brief analysis of the experience.

Ten secondary social studies teachers were carefully selected. They again represented successful and experienced individuals from throughout the state. They received a formal exposure to African studies, together with extensive reading assignments, during the first three weeks. For several reasons the emphasis was placed upon the states of Nigeria and Zambia: the United States is greatly dependent upon Nigeria for oil and we have an economic interest in

Zambia's copper ore. Thus the theme of interdependence could be easily developed. Nigeria contrasted well with Zambia in so many other respects: Nigeria is on the Atlantic Ocean—which facilitates transportation needs—while Zambia is land-locked; Nigeria is the most populous African state while Zambia is sparsely, even under-populated; Nigeria's economy is diversified and potentially strong while Zambia had to relate continuously with European-dominated Rhodesia and South Africa while Nigeria could assume a more distant, aloof posture. The possibilities were excellent for understanding contemporary conditions and developments in the African continent by studying these two countries. The general goal for students studying Africa at the secondary level was perceived as enabling them to be sufficiently informed to comprehend more intelligently contemporary developments and to awaken a general curiosity about African affairs as an American citizen.

The participants devoted approximately four weeks to the development of their units. The team concept was used once again. Each of the four teams developed one of the following concepts: cultural identity through the medium of art, literature and music; economic problems and prospects; educational opportunities and health care systems; and efforts toward continental cooperation, i.e., Pan-Africanism. Two teams consisted of three members each while the other two teams had only two members each. I expected the teachers to use Nigerian and Zambian examples to develop their respective units.

Unlike the previous group—the seventh grade teachers—the secondary teachers exhibited much less emotional identification with their subjects while simultaneously finding it much more difficult to work together cooperatively. These two factors created a very different atmosphere for the summer's endeavor. Furthermore the group as a whole exhibited greater rigidity in their approach to the assigned task although a concomitant desire to complete that task satisfactorily remained present. As a group they reminded me very much of my colleagues at Duke, or those faculty members whom I had met and worked with during the Davidson project: they manifested a great deal of self-confidence in personal teaching strategies of others. Hence a nagging rigidity served to distract and hamper the endeavor. One adjustment after another characterized my relationship to each individual and each group, while each participant no doubt experienced similar frustration and stress.

An emotional commitment to Nigerians and Zambians was difficult to discern. The commitment remained intellectual and aloof in form. I assumed

partial responsibility for this situation. Yet it was apparent that the nature of the literature read by the participants reinforced their tendency to avoid humanizing the issues under examination. The academic literature used was generally devoid of a "people" orientation, thus it was not written for the purposes I had in mind—and it had a telling effect.

Unfortunately a project I had initiated some months earlier in collaboration with Dr. Henry Ferguson of InterCulture Associates was far from being ready for use. In an effort to make contemporary African life and problems associated with development more meaningful, I had sought persons to write essentially biographical sketches about an individual or individuals with whom they had become well acquainted. The project envisaged a series of nine different sketches by nine different authors who had lived for some time in an African country. The individual lives described would introduce the reader to rather ordinary persons who, in some significant way, had made a profound impression upon the authors. The authors wrote explicitly for young American readers in an attempt to illustrate by means of their African personalities the reality of living in a particular African setting. I can only assume that the availability of the biographical sketches would have made a difference to the teachers' perception of the African reality. But the "African Sketches" did not appear until 1977, only three years too late.

The desire to confront an African reality by using biographies brings me abruptly back to the question posed to me by one of the secondary teachers: "Why do you feel that the lecture was disappointing?" To answer the question, I had to express the varying impacts that two different intercultural experiences had had upon me. Both experiences occurred while living with my family in Tanzania. On the one hand, I had developed a profoundly sympathetic set of attitudes toward things African while teaching for some thirty-eight months—from 1961 to 1964—in a second level boarding school for Tanzanian boys. As a direct consequence of this experience I returned to the United States and enrolled as a graduate student specializing in African History at Indiana University. I had obviously been deeply affected by my Tanzanian experience. On the other hand, I had a very different experience of only eight months duration in 1968-69. On this occasion I returned to a different community in Tanzania to collect oral information that would enable me to reconstruct the history of the Kerebe, a people living on an island in southeastern Victoria Nyanza (Lake Victoria). During this intercultural encounter, I developed a substantial understanding and appreciation for a particular culture and the people who valued that culture. I

made considerable progress in crossing a hypothetical bridge which linked two widely varying cultures: my own and that of the Kerebe.

Describing that subjective cross-cultural process is difficult. Words fail to convey the magnitude of the experience which was simultaneously emotional and intellectual. The process resembles a conversion because the impact leaves an indelible impression; values, attitudes, ideas and perceptions of self, society and others are all challenged and modified. The experience incorporated the essence of what we rather feebly call learning, although this kind of learning is so much more encompassing than the acquisition of skills and knowledge. Its intensity is assured because self-knowledge is such a critical component of the process. Sensitiveness to others as well as to the self is heightened. That it can be an uncomfortable, disturbing, threatening process is also recognized. All persons may not necessarily encourage or welcome it. But those who have been enriched by such a cross-cultural experience see it as one of those rare, formative events.

Both of my Tanzanian experiences were of a positive nature. But the first occasion was characterised by a very distinctive mind set. I consistently remained on my own cultural turf. The school setting and the curriculum, while certainly at variance with my American background, could be easily understood and taught by me. That the British system inherited by Tanzania was inadequate for Tanzanian needs at that time was generally recognised by me. But it would presumably be corrected in time so it did not overly concern me. In spite of some significant differences and apparent shortcomings, the educational system was Western and would continue to be so, according to my expectations, regardless of the eventual Africanization of the curriculum. It was a system designed to meet contemporary developmental needs. Of course working in this new system provided me with an appreciation for the value and possible social functions of education, but it placed no great demands on me. The students, coming from rural backgrounds and attempting to learn the content of various courses in their third language—Swahili was their second language, represented those who were striving to comprehend another culture. As a teacher my task was to assist them in their pursuance of mastering language skills and understanding the international community. My justification for being there was basically paternalistic; I was there as an employee of Tanzania's Ministry of Education to help. Motivations aside, these were precious years, full of warm memories, years that will always be cherished for the relationships developed and the benefits received, chief of which was a new curiosity about the people of Africa.

During the second experience, my role was effectively reversed. I met the rural Kerebe in their own environment and had to learn as much about them and their past as possible to have any success whatsoever in writing their history. I was now the student and the Kerebe assumed the role of teacher. My cultural assumptions and values had to be held in escrow to a degree or I would fail in my self-appointed task, precisely the requirement confronted by my former Tanzanian students in dealing with me. With some trepidation I consciously began to traverse the bridge that led into the subjective milieu that formed Kerebe culture. Gradually an intercultural dimension was added to my perception of the human community of which the Kerebe and I were a part. It was an exhilarating experience in many ways because the results were largely unanticipated; the results represented the proverbial frosting on the cake.

To live in or to visit an alien culture does not mean that one will necessarily encounter the richness and complexity of that culture. Tourists typically make no such effort and are treated accordingly by their alien hosts. Such a situation is unfortunate in our shrinking, interdependent world community. But obviously tourists are not the only group that fail to take advantage of an opportunity. Given my three-year residence in Tanzania, complete with good intentions, I managed to avoid comprehending Tanzanian culture quite successfully even though I learned a great deal while there. Consequently my criticism of tourists and other world travelers is tempered with a substantial measure of understanding. Nor is this phenomenon peculiar to Americans. It is one of those traits shared universally by members of all cultural groups. Whether individuals living in a multi-ethnic society are more or less prone to explore and learn about other cultures is a question that intrigues me. No doubt the amount of cultural security and self-confidence a person possesses would help to determine the answer. Cultural assimilation, of course, is a completely different phenomenon from a positive cross-cultural experience. The latter implies understanding and appreciating another culture while remaining basically rooted in one's original culture. Cultural assimilation, conversely, implies giving up one's own culture to embrace another.

Is is possible for students to have a cross-cultural experience in a formal learning situation? Or, perhaps more realistically, is it possible to sensitise students to the desirability and possibility of such an endeavor? My assumption following the first summer's project was that it could be partially accomplished while the second project raised serious questions about that possibility. Was the difference in response due to the materials used, to the dominant personalities

within each group, to some fundamental difference in the type of personality attracted to the teaching of senior rather than junior high school students, or to the more humanistic orientation of the first project? These questions arose even though the units prepared by the secondary teachers possessed excellent qualities. But the end-product was not my concern. Rather, it was the apparent aloofness the group displayed toward the people of Nigeria and Zambia: they did not seem to touch hands.

My concern over this intangible and very subjective issue led directly to the Ibadan project, which is the focus of the succeeding four sections. I proposed to take a group of sixteen experienced seventh and tenth grade social studies teachers to the University of Ibadan in Nigeria for six weeks during the summer of 1975. Two questions seemed central and I specifically sought answers to them. What are the normal processes through which we traverse in learning about an alien culture? Was it possible to identify them, and if so, could they be duplicated in a typical classroom setting? Secondly, would teachers who had participated in either of the Duke projects react any differently from teachers who had taught a course about Africa but who had not been formally exposed to African studies in a college or university classroom or in the foreign country? The participants themselves in the Ibadan project were assigned the task of crossing a cultural bridge and thereby comprehend emotionally and intellectually what it meant to be Nigerian.

The project's design enabled the teachers to remain at the University of Ibadan for five of the six weeks, although this arrangement did not preclude visits to nearby locations of interest. The week away from Ibadan was spent in Kano, a northern Nigerian city, to see the cultural variation extant within Nigeria. The extended bus ride to and from Kano, however, proved to be one of those unforgettable experiences frequently referred to as ordeals.

To make the potentially abstract topics of social and economic change, educational opportunities, family roles and religious beliefs more meaningful, the teachers were broken up into small units. Each of the five units was assigned a Nigerian counterpart, a fellow social studies teacher. The role of the Nigerian counterpart teachers was to interpret the abstract ideas into realities. They were to be the Nigerian agents with whom the American teachers could become well acquainted and could therefore question more intensely on a wide variety of subjects. Furthermore, social, economic and related concerns could be seen in reality within the home and family context of the Nigerian teachers. My assumption in using the counterpart concept was that cross-cultural learning is

enhanced by a human agent, someone who is respected and who gives time and effort to make the learning possible.

For multiple reasons the counterpart teachers as a group did not fulfill all of my expectations. The distance they lived from the university campus proved to be a very real stumbling-block since traffic in Ibadan, at least in polite company, is referred to as congested. The personalities of each also made a difference in relationships; hence some teams fared better with their counterparts than others. Nonetheless all participants had the opportunity of establishing at least one cordial relationship since a Nigerian member of the staff, Dr. Olu Sanda, and the staff of the dormitory provided other potential personal links to the Nigerian cultural context. One way or another a personal relationship became available to each participant.

Before the participants were selected, we frankly informed the applicants of the project's experimental nature. The we in this context refers to six individuals who contributed to the project's planning and implementation. Working closely with me from the earliest stages were Betty Bullard and Clifton Collins from the Division of Social Studies of the North Carolina Department of Public Instruction. Dr. Ann Dunbar, a historian from the University of North Carolina in Chapel Hill with research experience in Niger, just to the north of Nigeria, also contributed significantly to the planning. To provide expertise in the field of testing attitudes, Dr. Robert Ballantyne of Duke's Department of Education and Dr. Richard Rohlf, Director of the University Counseling Center at Duke, were affiliated with the project; only Collins, Dunbar, and Rohlf accompanied the participants to Nigeria. Being the subject of an experiment is conceded to be a less than optimal way of visiting Nigeria, but it was a means for the sixteen teachers to get there. Even during the two day orientation session, the reality of the forthcoming experience was distant enough to arouse few serious anxieties concerning the participants' future roles as experimental subjects.

We requested the participants to record their daily observations and impressions in a journal. At the end of the project, several days were also devoted to writing evaluations of their experiences. If any learning processes emerged, it was expected to flow from the journals and the evaluative assessments at the end; to a limited degree this actually transpired. There was a marked tendency in the journals, however, to remain superficial or to express likes and dislikes or simply to be critical. To record basic personal emotions proved to be another matter; the desire to shield oneself from potentially embarrassing emotions and attitudes

was far greater than the desire to provide data for my experimental interests. The exceedingly personal nature of the experience was all too apparent once I read their journals and evaluations. Nonetheless their relatively brief encounter in another cultural setting provided sufficient information to satisfy my curiosity as it related to the purposes in sending them to Ibadan.

While personality variables greatly influenced the ease with which persons related to strangers, it was clear that the participants made the effort to understand what it means to be Nigerian. Suggestions that the seven individuals who had participated in earlier Duke projects had benefitted from that experience existed, although more indirectly than directly: when requested to suggest a procedure for retraining teachers for intercultural teaching, they resorted to the basic concepts found in the Duke experience while simultaneously suggesting other dimensions.

Identification of the learning process was not readily discernible, but a definite pattern appeared: a willingness to try and learn about the alien culture was fundamental—without it very little would ever transpire. The willingness was essential in overcoming the initial shock to the senses experienced by all participants. The congestion, the apparent poverty, the traffic conditions, the sanitary conditions, the dress, the language, the food, different customs—all strongly reinforced the realization that they were outsiders. The obvious differences initially struck them continually. Gradually they overcame initial feelings of repulsion and outright fear to the extent of venturing off the "safe" university campus in small groups to visit the surrounding real but alien world. The final phase, that of beginning to comprehend and appreciate that alien world, was facilitated by the personal relations established with various Nigerians who helped to interpret for the participants what was sensed and seen. At that stage the Nigerians became people with similar needs and problems. The difficulties experienced in expressing their farewells to those who had meant most to them are briefly but poignantly recorded in their journals.

Regardless of the subjective quality and the positive results of the project, certain developments occurred that normally enter into any group experience, thereby complicating the results. The diverseness of personalities within the group, in addition to the various preconceived notions of what to expect from the experience and how to relate to what was experienced, all indicated that intra-group relationships would be characterized by some friction. Always in the background, black/white relationships affected some situations, although

seldom if ever to the degree of negating individual perceptions and values. The extent of personal diversity manifested by the six black teachers equalled, or possibly excelled, that manifested by the ten white teachers. Thus the tendency of persons in the group was to coalesce around commonly held values and perceptions rather than around other categories such as race, age, or sex, with the notable exception of eating arrangements.

The following four assessments explicitly discuss intra-group tensions and group relationships with Nigerians. It has been my assumption and that of the persons writing these assessments that a frank discussion of the negative as well as positive features of the Ibadan Project would be most beneficial. Easing the burden of such an exercise has been the realization that the participants, without exception, contributed to a successful learning venture. It was not an easy task because each individual was constantly examining personal reactions, values and motives while simultaneously being observed by three staff members. The situation was in and of itself fraught with tension. But they managed to emerge from the experience with confidence, pride and considerable humor.

I would like to add one further cautionary note regarding the assessment of the participants. We have no way of determining the actual impact of an intercultural experience upon any individual. A person who was not aggressive in initiating social relations or did not ask penetrating questions could not be ranked highly by the staff. Yet the impact of the experience upon that individual may have been extremely significant. Only the individual involved will ever be in a position to analyze, even partially, the impact upon his or her values and perceptions. Growth is inherent in intercultural learning and the participants have embarked upon a process that, if they are fortunate, will continue for a lifetime.

THE IBADAN PROJECT: RACIAL FACTORS

Clifton Collins, Jr.

Travel-study programs abroad usually have among their prime objectives the goal of learning about the "value system" of another culture. The goal rests firmly upon the conviction that cultural understanding can best be achieved through cultural immersion. Few would quarrel with this assertion; indeed, it can be supported with evidence from numerous overseas travel-study programs. Immersion within a non-western cultural setting can and frequently does promote an awareness of unique and contrasting life styles as well as provide a basis for analyzing the historical and cultural factors that maintain and/or change them. Further, such an experience enhances cognitive and affective learning about the particular culture and the people involved. Most travel-study programs are structured to focus upon specific intercultural learning objectives. These objectives are then associated with certain concrete experiences. One attempts to "immerse" the group in these experiences which then serve to induce the cultural awareness associated with it.

Prior to the on-site study of a different culture, it is desirable to specify certain learning objectives that are then associated with institutionalized behavioral patterns. Thus the kinds of activity the group engages in, the places to visit, the people to meet--all of these things are pre-planned to ensure a maximum group experience for specific purposes. Perhaps the greatest appeal of such an approach lies in its potential for evaluation. If certain experiences can be taken as embodying significant elements of the value system or a different culture, and if the particular culture differs sharply and distinctly from one's own culture, it would appear to follow that an in-depth immersion in those experiences should produce certain measurable alterations in the views and atittudes of the observer group. In short, one of the predominant rationales for overseas travel-study programs utilizes certain logical assumptions about how groups acquire the optimum level of cultural contact and, in turn, assesses the degree to which group or individual behavior, both cognitive and effective, are influenced in some desirable direction. A related assumption posits a correlation between an increased level of awareness and the ability of teachers to provide experiences for their students which will increase student knowledge and understanding of different cultures.

I believe these assumptions to be generally valid, but increasingly I believe that other factors influence to an even greater degree the kinds of intercultural understanding to be derived from group study abroad. This is especially true for racially mixed groups studying in an African setting because yet another intercultural dimension is introduced into the experience, that of the black American. I suspect that the most significant value of intercultural learning is in its potential for increasing the participant's self-awareness and growth in a personal and cultural value sense.

The reason for this suspicion lies in a number of observations I have made while accompanying three different groups of American educators to West Africa. All were summer study-travel programs intended to develop an appreciation for the culture of West Africans. The three groups ranged in number from 16 to 110 and accommodations for the most part were in university dormitories. The first two groups were predominately black although there were a significant number of whites in each. Ages ranged from the early 20's to retirees while the distribution of males and females was fairly equal.

The following general impressions were left with me as a group leader after the initial two programs. For the first few days after arriving in Africa, groups exhibited a general feeling of awe and bewilderment. Everything was strange and new and participants absorbed themselves in investigating each new facet of this new culture. The senses literally reeled under the impact of new sights, sounds and smells. There was too much to take in all at once, but everyone tried. Shortly after arriving, however, I began to notice the group breaking down into smaller groups. For the most part these divisions were along racial lines. This in itself would not be too unusual except that with this division there seemed to occur a heightening of tension within the total group. This tension grew in intensity until about the fourth or fifth week when it peaked and just as suddenly began to diminish. The tension referred to was evidenced in various ways: resentments of one kind or another, hostility of one group toward another, group caucuses to protest some real or imagined grievance, and interpersonal animosities of various kinds. It occurred to me at that time that if we could closely observe a group arriving in Africa and attempt to document in rather detailed fashion those incidents and experiences that occurred, we might be able to understand this phenomenon.

The opportunity to do this presented itself when I was asked to accompany a group of sixteen North Carolina social studies teachers to Nigeria in the

summer of 1975. Basic differences between the latter and earlier groups should be mentioned. The first two groups represented every geographic region of the United States and were from predominately urban areas. While most participants were education-oriented, a substantial number were simply taking advantage of an opportunity to visit Africa for personal reasons. The entire group in 1975 came from one state, North Carolina, and all were social studies teachers in the public school system. All of the latter were interested in improving their teaching about Africa; seven of the sixteen had attended previous summer programs at Duke University designed to implement this objective.

The earlier groups were larger, participants were strangers for the most part, and motives for visiting Africa were in many instances highly personal. Contrasting sharply, the group from North Carolina was quite small. Several of the participants had worked together previously and there was a common group purpose. These factors raised the question in my mind as to whether this particular group would in fact exhibit a similar tendency to divide into smaller groups and whether these small groups would develop animosities similar to earlier groups. The following comments incorporate my personal assessment as a black educator of what transpired. The assessment is necessarily subjective.

Upon arrival in Lagos, Nigeria, on June 23, 1975, the group was immediately transported to the University of Ibadan in Ibadan, Nigeria, approximately 90 miles away. The group was in unusually good spirits considering the long and arduous journey just undertaken.

The first indications of grouping along racial lines was apparent in the dining hall. From one or two persons of the same race sitting together but interspersed throughout the whole group, almost imperceptibly there developed a tendency for blacks to sit with blacks and whites with whites. This is not to say that each member of each group actually preferred this arrangement, but simply to indicate that to the casual observer this appeared to be the case. By the end of the trip, with few exceptions, one end of the table seemed to "belong" to blacks, the other to whites. A further implication of this rather spontaneous arrangement was that groups of participants tended to go to and from the cafeteria together adhering for the most part to the same racial makeup. It is interesting to note that when on local excursions away from the campus there was not the same rigid adherence to racial grouping. Upon returning to the familiar surroundings of the "home," however, the same seating patterns reasserted themselves. Naturally within these racial subgroups friendships began to develop which influenced to a large degree later group associations.

When the total group assembled to debrief specific experiences, a grouping emerged which was the result of general agreement or disagreement about issues. Comments, for example, that were critical of Nigerian customs, lifestyles and/or living conditions were generally met by defensive statements from blacks. These comments often took the form of comparisons with other developing nations. There were occasions when statements were made by blacks and whites, mostly, I think, inadvertently, which tended to reveal certain insensitivities to peculiar problems of the local population. Such statements usually evoked strong reactions from those who were either more sympathetic to or knowledgeable of the needs and aspirations of the people. I think it is fair to state that these strong vocalized reactions came most frequently from blacks, which is not meant to imply that blacks were either more knowledgeable or more sympathetic.

There were incidents which strongly fortified and solidified group bonds; for instance, several teachers, white and black, were having a conversation with a group of Nigerians. One teacher, black, inquired about a particular point. Another teacher, white, subsequently asked for the time. The Nigerian completely ignored the first question in order to give the time to the white teacher. The black teacher withdrew, mildly offended. On another occasion, a group of teachers, black and white, attended a local Christian church service. They were all recognized and warmly received by the pastor and congregation. Upon leaving the church the whites found themselves beseiged by curious and fascinated Nigerians; the blacks stood idly by and watched. Incidents of this kind served to help create a "we-they" dichotomy that persisted, sometimes subdued, sometimes readily apparent throughout most of the trip. While at no time do I recall the level of animosity even approaching that of the previous trips, undeniably there was frustration and animosity between groups and between individuals.

The question as to how and why group tensions emerged remains difficult to ascertain accurately. Much group behavior undoubtedly owes its character to the personal idiosyncracies of individuals who comprise it. We must look to peculiar and unique environmental factors for other types of group conduct and still other forms may be attributed to the group character itself. In any event, we know that smaller groups based on certain unifying factors will emerge and that they almost certainly will adhere to racial lines. I suspect there are several reasons for this occurring in Nigeria and without going into detail will mention three that were obvious to me.

I believe there is a significant difference in terms of expectations of whites and blacks in Africa. Recent years have witnessed the emergence of a

new race consciousness in the United States while tremendous social and political upheavals have simultaneously occurred in Africa. I doubt very much that it is purely coincidental that the two emerged together, in fact, most knowledgeable observers see the resurgent racial pride of black Americans partly as an expression of their identification with emerging black national independence movements of Africa. Many blacks visiting Africa harbor visions of "prodigalism," of returning to one's homeland. Obviously, this is among many other motives. For white Americans a similar feeling might occur upon returning to Europe, but I think other expectations would be fostered by a trip to Africa. Predominating would be the thrill of experiencing a very different culture, but whether that or some other expectation was greatest, I feel that white expectations would differ significantly from those of black participants.

Secondly, the pre- and post-colonial experience of many Nigerians must also be taken into account when integrated groups visit this country. When the historical forces of colonialism are understood in their relation to the maintenance of a system based on superior or inferior status, many ideas and behavior traits of individual Nigerians become understandable. Until such an understanding is reached, the behavior of some Nigerians may evoke "culture shock" among black Americans, a very real phenomenon which can have unsettling consequences for the uninitiated as illustrated by the above examples of differentiated Nigerian treatment of American blacks and whites.

Thirdly, there are in every group, regardless of size and racial composition, unique and contrasting personalities. Living together over an extended period of time will almost certainly produce tensions and frustrations which, before resolving themselves, can lead to friction or outright hostility.

Based on the foregoing statements, I suppose that one could conclude that leaders could avoid many problems of an intra- and intergroup nature by simply making the participants aware of these things. But it is precisely because I feel that knowledge of these conditions may hold potential for reducing tension that I favor withholding such information. In other words, I believe a certain amount of tension provides the best incentive for group participants wishing to understand the specific culture they are studying. Perhaps a better term for tension would be constructive anxiety. Constructive because, though painful, it forces one to raise questions about the nature of the behavior of others. Why did the Nigerian respond to the white American and ignore the black American when both had asked questions? Why did the church members rush out to greet

personally the whites and not the blacks? The answer to these and similar questions requires serious thought about the history of Nigeria, the nature of colonialism, race attitudes among Americans and Nigerians and the like. Understanding the behavior of others, if not accepting it, can come only through learning about the cultural values and goals of others.

A question often raised, of course, is whether the ill-will, animosity or frustration referred to above does in fact produce constructive anxiety or whether such experiences raise serious obstacles toward the creation of an atmosphere of mutual trust and cooperation. The fact is, I think, they do both. But I am convinced that the understanding of a foreign culture is greater when participants confront new experiences and must learn to adapt personally to new conditions and strange circumstances in their own way.

Increasingly we find indications that study programs abroad tend to precipitate a kind of personal crisis that calls for a vigorous self-examination of long held personal views and attitudes. Repeatedly we read comments suggesting that the real value of the overseas experience was as much the critical reappraisal of "my personal views and habits" as it was an increasing knowledge about a foreign people and culture.

I believe that such a reappraisal of one's own views and beliefs are not only desirable but absolutely essential elements of an open and objective approach to learning and teaching. For one thing, it encourages a teacher to look inward in an attempt to discover that peculiar configuration of experiences that underlies and influences his own personal views and feelings. For another, it suggests the possibility of recreating or restructuring a set of experiences which allows students to develop new and alternative responses to challenges which are in keeping with educationally sound and individually desirable objectives.

To summarize, there were differences between the first two groups and the group from North Carolina. Members of the latter group had similar educational backgrounds and work experiences, they shared a common commitment to the objectives of the program, they were a much smaller group and consequently had opportunities for frequent and prolonged personal contact, they shared those expectations stemming from their regional socio-economic heritage, and finally, all were aware of their individual responsibilities for the success of the project. These were strong unifying forces that were, at best, present to a very limited degree in the first two groups.

I believe the shared commitment by the North Carolina participants to the total effort in addition to the opportunities for frequent face to face contact with Nigerians and with each other were instrumental factors in prompting greater individual awareness of problems inherent in experiments in intercultural living. I further believe that these very problems, which for the most part can be characterized as interpersonal, intra- and intergroup conflict, often tend to evoke strong feelings of irritation and resentment, but simultaneously provide powerful motivation to inquire into reasons for certain customs, beliefs, and ideas. It is largely through such activities that individuals come to grips with the possibilities and difficulties of adapting the values of one cultural system to another.

While experienced travelers in Nigeria might anticipate the problems I have cited, I would like to give the following unsolicited advice to others who may lead study abroad groups in the future. Many problems are of a spontaneous nature and will arise in spite of the most careful plans to avoid them. Even if I could specify various situations likely to be encountered, how different individuals will respond to them depends upon a number of variables that are virtually impossible to predict or control. On another level, however, some factors remain constant. Given the inevitability of group disagreement, it appears to be the wiser course to utilize such conflicts by attempting to manage the learning potential. The important thing to remember is that most disagreements stem from differing ways of interpreting facts and events. External realities are filtered through the lenses of individual backgrounds and experiences. Two individuals observing the same phenomenon rarely "see" the same thing, let along educe the same meaning from what they see.

Most importantly, it is essential to provide participants with opportunities to exchange opinions openly and freely, to encourage everyone with an opinion to enter it into the marketplace of ideas, to seek to filter from the range of views expressed those which best explain the problem in question. The chances are that individuals will attempt to convince the group leader prior to or after a group meeting of the legitimacy of his or her position. Almost certainly efforts will be made to enlist the sympathetic support of friends and allies. The group leader may find himself with a real, live issue which, in order to be resolved, may require many hours of discussion, the services of local resource persons, academicians, practicing professionals and lay individuals, and even side trips to places of historical and cultural relevance. But what better learning situation is there?

THE IBADAN PROJECT: GROUP DYNAMICS

R. Ann Dunbar

The variety of reactions to the experience of crossing the bridge from one culture to another by the sixteen participants is summarized below. In reviewing my diary of the trip, a few items stand out which either are not dealt with elsewhere, or which it might be useful to develop more in the framework of admittedly subjective observations. As some of these observations explore divisions within the group, or seek to refine distinctive types of reaction to the experience of cross-cultural living, it should be emphasized again that this group of teachers operated very well both individually and as a group in a culture that was totally new to them. Compared with our observations of other American groups visiting Ibadan during the summer of 1975 and compared with the previous experiences of Collins and Dunbar with American groups in Africa, these teachers managed intelligently both the intra-group tensions and those associated with adjustment to a new culture. Given the range in ages of the participants, the absence of serious illness was both fortuitous and a tribute to the basically good mental attitude of the teachers throughout the trip.

The following observations are indications of what concerned us as leaders periodically vis-a-vis group members' interaction with each other and with Nigerian society. By the fourth day we were already thinking of ways to encourage the participants to express their affective responses to their experiences. We decided to have regular informal discussions where only that which bothered or excited them the most would be discussed. For most of the group the residence situation in itself was unique, or had not been experienced since college days. We were in a dormitory: the women living on the ground floor, for the most part in double accommodations. The men lived on the floor above and all but two had single rooms. For both the black and white teachers this was probably the closest and most sustained interracial living experience they had ever had. By the end of the first week certain patterns had developed in the residential situation. (In the teams which were supposed to be the focus of most of the daily activities outside of lectures, blacks, white, men, and women were mixed.) The first pattern that became an object of concern to the white women was apparent in the dining hall, the black women began separating themselves and, with one or two exceptions, sat together at one end of the table. The older black women seemed to lead this development; yet they were simultaneously

outspoken in discussions and critical of any western assessment of Nigerian culture. Their own experiences in the states had molded a viewpoint which tended to politicize the most neutral topic: child-rearing, religious beliefs, and less neutral, women's and men's roles. White reaction to the move to separate was shock and dismay and the women asked "What are they doing? What can we do to get the black women to join us?" This single act of self-segregation was an important one and the pattern persisted despite some individuals who deliberately sought to overcome it by choosing seats next to the ladies.

It was also during the first week that differences in Nigerian reactions to whites and blacks emerged. Whether from curiosity or ingrained attitudes of African relations to Europeans stemming from colonial days, Africans we encountered in groups were more likely to initiate conversations with the whites amongst us than with blacks. One of the teachers recalling a home visit she and I had made together noted of a child, "She took your hand—not mine." Not all of the blacks felt this as strongly as others, but for those who did this unconscious bias of behavioral choice was a disillusioning experience.

Taken together with this latter development, age and marriage status may have heightened any feelings of discrimination the black women felt. They were on the average older than the white women and were all married except one. For the white women the reverse was true: all but two were single. An awareness of the black women's feelings was general because we had discussed it in one of the rap sessions, and it made any social relationships initiated by Nigerian men for the younger white women all the more complicated. For most of the white women, this kind of attention was a novel experience and, intra-group issues aside, they were ambivalent at first. Their reaction was to try to arrange for group rather than single couple outings.

During the second week the first real outrage over an apparent haphazard arrangement was expressed. It all came to a head when the bus for Oshogbo was three hours late. The participants, whose work schedules at home required very structured and active days, were driven to distraction by what seemed to be an indifference to doing anything on time. As the days passed most of them anticipated and prepared for long waits, but they remained frustrated by them.

Another sign that the novelty was wearing off during the second week was the emergence of a lot of "States" talk and a tendency when the group was

all together to make "ugly American" comments and jokes about some local customs, food in particular. What was interesting about this was that singly or in teams the participants were unfailingly courageous, exploratory, and diplomatic; given the absence of Nigerians, however, such postures tended to slip into American bravaderie.

On the intellectual level, some of the most exciting discussions in comparative values and beliefs took place when our special topic was religion. Starting with several provocative lectures on Yoruba religion in relation to Christianity and Islam, the group discussions in addition to individual forays into local Christian churches were stimulating encounters. How teachers might best explain the complexity of Yoruba religion to American students in terms that would be meaningful and yet express justly the differences required considerable thought. Here briefly are some of the generalizations which the group derived from their team discussions with their counterpart Nigerian teachers:

1) Religion seeks to explain the unknowable.
2) Yoruba religion has a pantheon of deities whose purpose is to act as messenger to Oludumare.
3) There is a supreme God, Oludumare.
4) There is a close connection between religion and social organization symbolized in Yoruba by the association of a family with a particular deity.
5) Both Islam and Christianity have accepted much of the traditional religion in their practices. Members of any one family may practice either, but both tend to participate in Yoruba festivals.
6) Music, art, and dance are more closely tied to religion than in our own society.

Two concepts remained beyond our efforts to define in a pedagogic way: the role of sacrifice and the relationship between ethics and religion. Despite the symbolic sacrifice of Christian communion, few felt that we could equate that with the sacrifice of animals in an effective way. Perhaps this was so because we ourselves could not make that transfer emotionally even if we could intellectually. We also found ourselves unable to discern the relationship between *ethics* and religion: did Yoruba morality and ethical judgment ultimately refer back to a religious basis? One of our group, a former minister, explained our tentative conclusion this way: "Christians tend to interact more with their God–

to petition him for guidance; the Yoruba seem to assume a more active role by the deities who are petitioned either in cyclical ways or to redress specific grievances."

Coming when they did at the beginning of our work, the two topics of family roles and religion got us immediately into contrasts and similarities which were personally significant. They, more than any of the subsequent discussions on ways of earning a living and cultural diversity within Nigeria, succeeded in getting us *onto* the bridge, if not exactly *across* it into the other culture.

The intra-group tensions of the first week continued into the second, although surface relations remained cordial and cooperation continued. But the feelings were there and, other alterations failing to appear, the whites grumbled about the apparent rebuff of the blacks and withdrew into their corner. The blacks went on about their business. There was considerable pressure, perhaps unconsciously communicated by those of us in a leadership capacity, not to let the situation get out of hand. We as leaders had consciously decided to let the situation evolve naturally in the interests of allowing the participants to learn as much as possible from this aspect of the overall experience. Hence we did not officially attempt to resolve difficulties, knowing full well that it would probably not be possible to do so to everyone's satisfaction anyway. The rap session during the second week brought out some very pointed comments by the blacks towards one of the white girls because of the keen attention shown her by one of the Nigerian male staff members. Strains were also emerging in the relationships with the counterpart teachers; most of the group felt they were more interested in money than in spending unstructured free time with their teams. "If they were in the states we would be better hosts than they are" seemed to be a common theme. The observation about Nigerian interest in money spilled over beyond the counterpart teachers. The traders were hounding them, young boys were attaching themselves to the men demanding gifts on a daily basis, anything from clothes to a trip to the States. People were finding it difficult indeed to meet on a person-to-person basis.

During the third week some signs of confidence began to appear and with that levity. The old problems remained: at a party for the group at one of the Nigerian homes there was still tension over the Nigerian men and the single white girls. Some of the women, both whites and blacks, refused to dance with the Nigerians. On another occasion, three of the girls had encountered a pick-pocket in the market. But the teachers were now openly joking about "crossing

the bridge" and on the eve of the Kano trip one woman remarked, "We were told to cross the bridge, but nobody said anything about falling into the water," to which another added, "At this rate some of us are going to drown."

The rigors of the Kano trip—twenty-two hours on the road, seven of them spent in heated struggles to get petrol at various stations, pulled the group together in a way it had not been before. It also graphically conveyed the difficulties of communications in a country of Nigeria's size and diversity. Despite courteous service and more elegant food in Kano (we ate mostly in restaurants) the surroundings were strange and it made Ibadan seem like home. After our return individuals seemed to feel much freer to go exploring on their own. Also the group as a whole was appalled at the complaints made by other American groups that had just arrived: "they were not entering into the spirit of this at all." The coup d'etat disrupted many of our plans during the fifth week and reaction to it, individual excursions, and the evaluation process left the group little time or energy to be concerned with intra-group affairs. The closing festivities were happy ones and seemed to reflect that despite the distance perceived between themselves, the American and the Nigerian teachers had made an impact on each other.

One final point emerged in the evaluation worth commenting on because it illustrates the persistence of perceptions and choices molded by the experiences of Afro-Americans—or at least of these Afro-Americans—in the states. Two of the blacks frankly stated that they felt that the university professors and teachers had deliberately conveyed an elitist version of Nigeria today, and they resented that. They felt that they learned more about the *real* Nigeria from the streets, the markets, or the bars: "The little people could really tell them how it is." This was hotly disputed within the group; others felt it was "impolite" to say such things to those who had helped us. The Nigerian teachers and staff were either baffled or annoyed by their critics in this unexpected confrontation.

In trying to summarize my own disparate thoughts of how the group differentiated itself in reaction to this cross-cultural experience, I found myself returning to fundamental personality predispositions. That is, people participated in this experience according to who they were, not how old or young, nor how black or white, nor even male or female. From such a perspective four groups emerged.

Some individuals are simply insensitive to differences in values. They tend to judge diversity as good or bad in terms of how closely divergent customs approximate "American" or their own personal values and situations. Such people do not generally distinguish in the foreign setting cultural choice from historical, economic, political, or social conditions. For instance, they are likely to say regarding poor sanitation and crowded residential situations either, "people here don't bother about being clean" or, "once economic conditions improve, Ibadan will be clean" (like us). This posture does not mean that they avoid the foreign hosts, however, in fact they may be among the more aggressive in seeking contacts with them.

A second group consists of individuals who are sensitive *intellectually* to divergent values and get very involved in trying to analyze them. Depending on their own sense of self-assurance, they may or may not go about this aggressively in approaching Nigerians, but this stance does not necessarily imply an avid interest in associating with people from the foreign culture.

A third group are those sensitive both intellectually and emotionally to the different culture and who usually enjoy conversations and relationships with host country nationals. These individuals have the greatest potential for seeing things with African perspectives and accepting African priorities; they are most able to accept the legitimacy of other ways of doing things. Though their own values may be altered by this experience, value change does not seem to be a necessary consequence of this approach.

A fourth unanticipated group consists of those who are intellectually indifferent to discussions about varying value systems, but who are able to and who do relate successfully with host country nationals across a broad social spectrum: elite, teachers, potters, soldiers, young, and old. They seem to be able to accept, to live and let live, and sometimes to appreciate. They are rarely shaken or changed in their own outlook.

Without being able to correlate this grouping with other evaluation measures completed for the project, I would guess that the third and fourth categories are likely to be the best teachers of cross-cultural courses. Group three will effectively convey both conceptual analysis and affective experience; group four will do more of the latter than the former, but by their empathy and enthusiasm may be able to incite students to the possibilities of cross-cultural understanding.

THE IBADAN PROJECT: PERSONALITY AND DEMOGRAPHIC FACTORS AFFECTING THE EXPERIENCE

Richard J. Rohlf and Robert H. Ballantyne

The results of the numerous testing devices used to evaluate the Ibadan participants suggest that there are discernible personality and demographic characteristics of those participants identified as most and least successful in "crossing the bridge" to intercultural understanding. Had the group of teachers been larger in size and had teachers been selected for participation on the basis of specific variables, for example those identified in this study, then the probability of even more significant results would have been enhanced. Nevertheless there is sufficient evidence to support our original assumptions that: a) it is possible to evaluate in a systematic manner the effect of cross-cultural experiences and b) that the participants in the Ibadan project did, in fact, profit at different levels.

It has been impossible, however, to identify significant changes in an individual's perception of self, of culture and cultural differences, of value orientations, of risk-taking behavior, and other areas of change as a result of this experience. A second area of critical importance not measured is the effect that the cross-cultural experience has had or will have in terms of classroom behavior of these participating teachers. It is implied, of course, that as attitudinal changes occur, they will in some way be manifested in classroom behavior. Additional research and activity is needed in this regard, particularly studies designed to assess teaching and classroom behavior prior to cross-cultural experiences and then to measure the same behavior not only immediately after the experience, but at varying time intervals over a two to three year period.

A primary purpose of this evaluation was to determine, if possible, a means of discriminating between project participants who were able and those who were unable to experience changes in attitudes, values, and acquisition of knowledge, in other words to broaden the participants' horizons as a consequence of a cross-cultural experience. As a part of the methodology developed to answer these types of questions, it was necessary to determine if it would be possible, within acceptable standards of reliability, to differentiate participants who apparently changed most from those who apparently changed least as a direct result of the Ibadan experience. In order to establish membership in

these categories, the project staff rated each participant on a variety of criteria concerning the degree to which individuals attempted to make an active and visible effort to "involve themselves" in this particular cross-cultural experience. By these techniques it was possible to place project participants into several categories and subsequently to determine what differences, if any, existed between those rated in the higher level of the various criteria versus those at the lower level. With this information an analysis was made of personality factors, levels of factual knowledge, anticipated difficulties with reference to cross-cultural adjustment as well as other measurable factors, such as race, sex, previous travel experience and prior participation in Duke University's summer training program in African studies.

The subjects of this study consisted of sixteen social studies teachers from various public schools in North Carolina. The following information reveals significant characteristics of the group's composition:

1) there were eleven women and five men;

2) ten of the participants had prior travel and intercultural experiences outside of the United States;

3) seven participants had participated in one of the earlier African curriculum development projects conducted at Duke University;

4) there were ten white and six black participants;

5) of the six black teachers, five were women.

Six weeks before departure for Nigeria, a two-day orientation was held for the participants. At this time test scores were obtained from the following:

1) *General Knowledge Inventory:* This was an examination developed by Dr. R. Ann Dunbar to assess the participants' general knowledge about Nigerians, their culture and their history.

2) *Cultural Adjustment Inventory:* This was an instrument designed to assess the degree to which each participant anticipated difficulty in adjusting to various aspects of Nigerian life.[1]

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[1]The work of James P. Spradley and Mark Phillips, "Culture and Stress: A Quantitative Analysis," *The American Anthropologist*, 74 (1972), 518-29, served as the basis for this inventory.

3) *Personal Orientation Inventory.* This is a personality inventory which attempts to measure the values and behavior seen to be important by the individual in realizing personal goals.[2]

4) *Fundamental Interpersonal Relations Orientation–Behavior* (FIRO-B). The primary purposes of the FIRO-B scales are to measure how an individual characteristically behaves in interpersonal situations and to provide a means for facilitating the prediction of interaction between people.[3]

4) *Fundamental Interpersonal Relations Orientation–Feeling* (FIRO-F). The basic purposes of the FIRO-F are the same as for the FIRO-B, that is to assess how an individual relates to another. However, the FIRO-F attempts to assess one's personal interactions at the level of feeling rather than actual behavior.

It should be noted that because of last minute changes in the group's composition, two of the sixteen participants joined the project after the orientation and, therefore, were tested at a later date.

During the last week of the project in Nigeria, two days were set aside for the purpose of evaluating the experiences of the previous five weeks. It was at this time that measures were again obtained on the Cultural Adjustment Inventory and the General Knowledge Inventory.

Upon the group's return to the United States the three project staff members who accompanied the teachers to Nigeria (Dunbar, Collins, and Rohlf), subjectively assessed the extent to which each participant involved himself or herself with Nigerians and in Nigerian culture. Each participant was rated according to three criteria by each staff member:

Criterion I: rank participants according to their frequency of contact with Nigerians;

Criterion II: rank participants according to the extent to which they were affected by experience (amount of impact);

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[2]See Everett L. Shostrom, *Manual for the Personal Orientation Inventory* (San Diego, Calif.: Educational and Industrial Testing Service, 1966).

[3]See William C. Schutz, *The FIRO Scales Manual* (Palo Alto, Calif.: The Consulting Psychologists Press, Inc., 1967).

Criterion III: rank participants according to their apparent appreciation and sensitivity to the Nigerian setting.

Recognizing that it was impossible to make the fine discriminations to rank order the sixteen participants on each of the above criteria, the staff was requested to identify five participants best representing the "top" end of each criterion and those five best representing the "bottom" end of each criterion. The remaining six participants were assumed to represent the "middle" range of each criterion.

Before any statistical analyses could be carried out, it first had to be determined if statistically reliable agreement among the staff was possible in evaluating such a subjective process as a person's success in immersing himself or herself in another culture. Of the three criteria chosen to represent this process, "frequency of contact" was most amenable to direct observation. Yet there was even considerable doubt concerning likelihood of obtaining adequate agreement between raters on this criterion because each staff member spent varying amounts of time with any given participant.

Table 1 reports the pattern and extent of staff rating agreement on the three criteria. It should be noted that significant rater agreement was obtained between each pair of raters across all three criteria and significant rater agreement between all three raters was obtained on two of the three criteria. Based on these findings it was assumed that the rater agreement was sufficiently reliable to differentiate the sixteen participants into extreme groups, that is, a "most successful" and "least successful" group for each criterion.

The procedure for determining group membership on each criterion was to assign a score of 3 for each rating in the top category, a score of 2 for a rating in the middle category, and a score of 1 for a rating in the bottom category. Therefore, if a participant was rated by all three staff members as being in the top category on a criterion, he or she would receive a score of 9. In this manner a total for each participant was obtained on each criterion. Then based on the distribution of these scores on a given criterion, the decision was made as to the participants comprising the most successful and least successful groups. Table 1 reports the criterion scores and group assignments for the sixteen teachers.

In order to use one other means for getting at the process of "being able to intellectually and emotionally involve oneself in another culture," a total

TABLE 1

Pattern and Extent of Rater Agreement

	Criterion I				Criterion II				Criterion III				
Subjects	Top	Middle	Bottom	Score	Top	Middle	Bottom	Score	Top	Middle	Bottom	Score	Total Score
1	CDR			9*	R	C	D	6	C		DR	5**	20*
2	C	R	D	6	R	CD		7*	CR	D		8*	21*
3		DR	C	5**		DR	C	5**		DR	C	5**	15**
4	C	D	R	6	D	C	R	6		CD	R	5**	17
5		CR	D	5**		CR	D	5**	R	C	D	6	16**
6	DR		C	7*	C	DR		7*		DR	C	5**	19*
7	D	CR		7*	R	C	D	6	C		DR	5**	18
8			CDR	3**			CDR	3**	R	C	D	6	12**
9		CR	D	5**	C	DR		7*		DR	C	5**	17
10	CDR			9*	CDR			9*	CDR			9*	27*
11			CDR	3**			CDR	3**		DR	C	5**	11**
12	R	D	C	6	D	C	R	6	R		DC	5**	17
13		CDR		6	D	R	C	6	D	CR		7*	19*
14		CD	R	5**	C	DR		7*	D	C	R	6	18
15		CD	R	5**		D	CR	4**	D	CR		7*	16**
16	CDR			9*	CDR			9*	CD		R	7*	25*
Rater Agreement:				total				total				total	
D w/ R	4	2	2	8	2	4	2	8	1	4	2	7	
C w/ R	3	4	2	9	2	1	3	6	2	2	0	4	
C w/ D	3	3	2	8	2	1	2	5	2	1	1	4	
C/D/R	3	1	2	6	2	0	2	4	1	0	0	1	

* Most successful group
** Least successful group

Note: C for Collins, D for Dunbar, R for Rohlf

score across all three criteria was obtained. This enabled us to determine those participants subjectively judged to have been most successful and those which had been judged least successful in involving themselves with Nigerians and in Nigerian culture. These group assignments are also noted in Table 1 under the column designated as Total Score.

Once the composition of the extreme groups was determined for each criterion and across all criteria, t-tests* were performed to determine if there were any significant differences between the most and least successful groups on the various internal data that had been gathered. For that data which was discrete, for example, sex, race, participation in an earlier Duke summer workshop, and prior intercultural experience outside of the United States, a chi-square analysis* was performed to determine if there were any relationships between that characteristic and subjectively judged involvement in the Nigerian project. The measures used in the following analysis involved 28 separate scales. Table 2 contains a listing of these variables.

Criterion I

T-tests between the most successful and least successful groups on Criterion I on the measures listed in Table 2 yielded no significant differences.

A significant chi-square was obtained between groups contrasted on the basis of whether or not a participant had prior experience traveling abroad and rated success on Criterion I. The direction of the relationship reported in Table 4 suggests that persons lacking prior overseas experience had more frequent contact with Nigerians than those participants who had a prior experience abroad.

A significant chi-square was also obtained relating frequency of contact with the participant's race. The result reported in Table 4 indicated that the black participants were perceived as having more frequent contact with Nigerians than the white participants.

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*The t-test and chi-square analysis are statistical techniques for determining if the observed differences in mean scores, or distribution of scores, between two groups is most probably a reflection of true difference between the groups and not merely differences due to chance or random errors of measurement.

TABLE 2

Listing of Variable Names

VARIABLE	
1	Cultural Adjustment Inventory
2	General Knowledge Inventory
	Personal Orientation Inventory
3	Time Incompetent
4	Time Competent
5	Other Directed
6	Inner-Directed
7	Self-Actualizing Value
8	Existentiality
9	Feeling Reactivity
10	Spontaneity
11	Self-Regard
12	Self-Acceptance
13	Nature of Man, Constructive
14	Synergy
15	Acceptance of Aggression
16	Capacity for Intimate Contact
	Fundamental Interpersonal Relations Orientation – Behavior
17	Expressed Inclusion
18	Wanted Inclusion
19	Expressed Control
20	Wanted Control
21	Expressed Affection
22	Wanted Affection
	Fundamental Interpersonal Relations Orientation – Feelings
23	Expressed Inclusion
24	Wanted Inclusion
25	Expressed Control
26	Wanted Control
27	Expressed Affection
28	Wanted Affection

Criterion II

Significant t-tests were obtained on the Personal Orientation Inventory scales, Time competent, and the FIRO-F scale of Wanted Control. The direction of the difference between the means on the Time Competent scale reported in Table 3 suggests that those participants judged to have been most influenced by the Nigerian experience were persons who normally spend more time reflecting about the past and what the future may bring than the participants who were seemly influenced little by the experience. The difference on Wanted Control suggests that those participants most affected by the experience have a greater need to feel respected for their capabilities and to be viewed as competent.

As was true for Criterion I, prior experiences abroad was also related to judged success on Criterion II. The direction of the relationship noted in Table 4 would indicate that those participants who had prior foreign travel and intercultural experiences were less affected by the encounter with the Nigerian culture than those participants who had not had such an experience or experiences.

TABLE 3

T-test Results

Significant Beyond the .05 level

	Variable	Most Successful $\bar{X}$	Least Successful $\bar{X}$	t-test $\bar{X}$
Criterion I	None			
Criterion II	POI-Time Competent	16.17	19.20	2.48
	FIRO-F–Wanted Control	6.00	1.40	3.47
Criterion III	POI-Existentiality	23.00	18.13	2.95
	POI-Nature of Man-Constructive	10.60	12.63	2.64
Total	FIRO-F–Wanted Control	4.83	1.40	2.40

TABLE 4

Chi-Square Results

Significant Beyond the .05 level

	Variable	Number of ratings for Top	Middle	Bottom	Chi-Square
Criterion I	Experience abroad	4	12	14	14.436
	No experience abroad	11	6	1	
	Black	10	4	4	7.988
	White	5	14	11	
Criterion II	Experience abroad	5	13	12	7.911
	No experience abroad	10	5	3	
Criterion III	Experience abroad	5	15	10	8.889
	No experience abroad	10	3	5	
	Black	9	2	7	9.127
	White	6	16	8	
Total	Experience abroad	14	40	36	28.114
	No experience abroad	31	14	9	
	Black	27	10	17	18.023
	White	18	44	28	

Criterion III

Contrasting the most successful and least successful groups on Criterion III resulted in two significant t-tests on the Personal Orientation Inventory, Existentiality and Nature of Man—Constructive. As can be seen in Table 3, the direction of the difference on the Existentiality scale suggests that those persons judged to have been most sensitive to and appreciative of Nigerian people and culture are persons who are more flexible and use better judgement in the application of their values than those persons judged to have been least sensitive to the Nigerian way of life. The difference on the Nature of Man—Constructive

scale suggests that those judged more successful on this criterion view the nature of man in a less positive way than those participants who were considered to have been less sensitive to the Nigerian point of view.

Again, experience abroad was found to be significantly related to judged success on the Nigerian project. Table 4 reports the chi-square results which indicate that those persons judged to have been most sensitive and appreciative of the Nigerian experience were most likely those participants who had had no previous intercultural experiences outside the United States. A significant chi-square was also obtained on this criterion for groups contrasted on the basis of race. The direction of the relationships reported in Table 4 is not clear. It would appear that whatever relationships may exist, it is not linear. The data suggests that whereas the black participants either significantly "tuned in" or "tuned out", whites were judged to have been moderately successful—being somewhat sensitive to this totally different and African culture but unable to appreciate the culture to the extent of some of the black participants.

Total: The Three Criteria

When contrasting the most successful participants across the three criteria with the least successful participants, one significant t-test was obtained, the FIRO-F, Wanted Control scale. The direction of the difference between the means suggests that participants judged to have been more successful in involving themselves in the Nigerian culture are more concerned about whether or not they are viewed by others as competent people and are respected for their capabilities than those participants judged to have been least successful across all three criteria.

Table 4 reports two significant chi-square tests that were obtained when contrasting the most successful "Total" groups with the least successful groups. As was true in the instances cited above, these tests indicated that, overall, the black participants were judged to have been more active in involving themselves with Nigerians and in Nigerian culture than the white participants and that those persons who had never traveled beyond the borders of the United States became more involved than participants who had prior travel experiences outside the United States.

In summary, the various instruments of evaluation produced varying results, many of which produced differences that possessed no statistical significance. Those that produced significant differences suggest areas of further research to verify or modify the results of the small sample used in this analysis. But more importantly, the implications of these results for the training or retraining or persons to teach cultures other than their own must be considered.

THE IBADAN PROJECT: THE PARTICIPANTS' VIEW

The sixth week in Ibadan was devoted to an intensive evaluation of the project by the participants and the staff. The participants' response to ten questions or series of questions appear below in a summarized form.* A precautionary note should be made at this juncture. References are frequently made to "crossing a cultural bridge." That particular verbal image was uppermost in my mind at the time. But as discussed in the last chapter, I have subsequently discarded that image, which is linear in nature, and replaced it with the image of a circle. The former image connotes an "us/them" relationship while the latter connotes a "we" for everyone.

Question #1: What does the phrase "crossing the cultural bridge" mean to you? To what extent have you been successful in crossing this bridge? What have been factors which have enhanced or inhibited your efforts?

Understanding of, appreciation of, acceptance of, and respect for Nigeria and its culture as it exists, were the expressions used to describe the "crossing of the cultural bridge." "Thinking and feeling" like a Nigerian were part of the mental assimilation, while physical participation (acting and looking like a Nigerian) were often felt equally as important.

Eleven of the sixteen participants were consciously aware of the need to drop one's own cultural bias to look at the Nigerian lifestyle objective. They realized that no attempt should be made to judge, compare, or change the unfamiliar culture.

The majority of the participants felt they had crossed the cultural bridge. Several, however, did not. It was the latter few who did not mention the internal aspects of cross-cultural understanding or release from cultural prejudices who apparently had the most difficulty in their Nigerian adjustment.

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*I wish to express my appreciation to Elizabeth G. McLeod and Margaret H. Brown for their sterling efforts to summarize the evaluations of the sixteen participants.

There was outward acceptance and physical participation, yet repugnance and/or mere toleration rather than understanding and respect, which dominated their internal thinking.

Close personal relations with individual Nigerians were seen as definite aids to the participant's "crossing." The friendliness and openmindedness of the Nigerian people were often mentioned as an important factor in their efforts. A strong interest in learning, and a willingness to participate as much as possible were also factors which enhanced efforts.

Personality traits identified as assets in "crossing the bridge" included the following: ability to get along well with other people, love and understanding for others, friendliness, openmindedness, adaptability, sincerity, and in-depth sensory perception. Those who most honestly felt they had crossed the cultural bridge possessed many of these traits.

Factors felt to hinder efforts were varied. A desire for more personal contact was often mentioned, and perhaps was, in part, due to the "isolation" of the group on the university campus. Many would have preferred to spend more time in a home or family situation, or visiting rural areas. Almost all of the participants wished they had had more time with individual Nigerians, including their counterpart teachers, and felt this could have been an even greater source of cultural information, observation, and first-hand participation.

Several felt there was too much "groupness" and this hindered their efforts to get to know individuals. Personality traits again were influential in the success one had in crossing the bridge. A reserved nature, or a tendency not to get involved in things were recognized as inhibiting factors by several of the participants. Frustration with group leadership and communication difficulties were also mentioned frequently. Although there were many problems in individual cultural adjustment, interest, enthusiasm, and an openness to differences allowed the majority to "cross the cultural bridge."

Question # 2: In what ways has this experience affected your own sense of national identity?

All but two of the participants felt more appreciation of American living conditions, material comforts, a stable political system, health care, education, and welfare possibilities. Increased patriotism, "Americanism," and a heightened

sense of national identity were mentioned by the participants. A new respect for the American political system seemed pronounced as a result of the Nigerian coup (July 28, 1975) which occurred at the beginning of their fifth week.

Two of the blacks in the group mentioned that the visit strengthened the "American" part of their Afro-American identity. They did not feel accepted by the Nigerians as "brothers," and became more appreciative of their American heritage and background.

Several participants expressed their frustration with an American stereotype held by Nigerians. They also realized that everyone does not aspire to be an American, and that all American influence in Africa has not been beneficial.

A chance to see oneself as an American in other's eyes helped one participant realize the universal need for a sense of belonging: "Wherever people are, a sense of belonging is a basic ideal." Unconsciously this seems to have been the feeling of all the participants in general. A greater appreciation and respect for the standards and ideals of America as their country, seemed to develop during their Nigerian stay.

Question # 3: If your counterpart had been visiting you in your community in North Carolina and your roles were reversed, do you think your relationship would be the same as it is now? If not, how might it be different?

Only six of the participants indicated that there would be no major change in the relationship with their counterpart if the roles were reversed. These six all described their relationship in Nigeria as good or great! One participant, however, who described his/her relationship with the counterpart teacher as good, felt their relationship would be "very different" if the roles were reversed. Problems of communication and transportation which were so paramount in Nigeria were not thought to be hindrances in the United States, and would allow people to spend more time together.

Although some felt that under the circumstances, the counterpart teachers did as good a job as could be expected, more activities together and a more personal relationship were often mentioned as things they would desire if the roles were reversed. More time together on a one-to-one basis was frequently

mentioned, and stated as a major point in eight of the answers (including some that felt their relationship was already good).

Greater mobility within the United States made many teachers feel they could offer their counterpart more experiences in the limited time of their visit. Trips to points of interest could be arranged on an individual basis, and there would be more exposure to family and friends. Although one person mentioned there would be less emphasis on visiting private homes, the majority desired more contact in family situations, and would implement this if situations were reversed.

In general, there was a positive feeling toward a future reversal of roles. Having experienced the "foreigner" role themselves, the American teachers felt prepared to meet the needs and desires of a visiting Nigerian teacher. They felt that as a counterpart teacher, they should devote more time to the project and sounded eager to do so. Since the Nigerian teachers spoke English, language would not be the problem it was for Americans. One participant mentioned that their relationship would be hindered by racial prejudice in his/her small rural community, but he/she still seemed eager to participate. Generally, a closer involvement in personal relations and broader cultural exposure were the two aspects which the teachers felt they would change for a visiting teacher in the United States.

Question # 4: What effect do you feel this experience will have on your teaching?

All of the teachers felt that their experiences in Nigeria would affect their teaching to some extent. Increased interest and enthusiasm for Africa was an important point in many of the answers, and was accompanied by a desire to share this interest. Some of the teachers felt that their objectives would not change, but that their present teaching methods would definitely be enhanced by their increased knowledge, personal comments, and artifacts brought back from Nigeria.

Almost all of the participants intended to use a more people-oriented approach in their teaching. Use of personal case studies, one-to-one correspondence with Nigerian students (arranged through counterpart teachers), projects, and role-playing activities (complete with travel brochures, food and clothing) were mentioned as aspects to be incorporated into African studies.

Several teachers mentioned feeling more confidence in their knowledge of Africa and, therefore, felt better qualified to select textbooks and films for classroom use. The use of teaching aids brought from Nigeria (newspapers, arts and crafts, kola nuts, and slides) were expected to generate enthusiasm for the study of Africa.

Several teachers intended to include lessons in "sensitivity" to combat the natural tendency to criticize that which is different. These lessons would aim at a better understanding of other cultures and lifestyles, and hopefully, instill in the students a desire for cultural exchange and global study.

The conflict between traditional and modern would be stressed by some of the teachers. Firsthand examples would be given showing the influences of world powers on developing nations.

In general, all of the teachers were very enthusiastic about their new teaching strategies. They felt their interest, coupled with primary information and materials, would generate enthusiasm for the material on the part of the students which was one of the program's desired consequences.

Question # 5: Describe the three most significant experiences you have had over the past five weeks.

The responses were varied, but seemed to consist of the same types of experiences. The specific events most often mentioned were related to travel, the military coup, and religious experiences. The trip from Lagos to Ibadan was an exciting, shocking, and frightening experience for several in the group. Although they had been prepared, the type of poverty they saw was still quite a shock. Side trips to Kano and a small rural village, Ijaiye, were also memorable.

The significance of the military coup to most participants was not the fact that it took place, but rather the calm reactions it illicited from the Nigerian people. In visiting a church or religious ceremony, similarly, what was remembered was the excited response and emotion of the Nigerian participants. The teachers tended to remember the reactions of the Nigerians, not the ceremony itself.

Friendships with individual Nigerians were frequently mentioned and seemed significant in determining the extent of the participant's happiness and

cultural understanding. Friendships developed with counterpart teachers, as well as young Nigerians, and individuals they just happened to meet. Meeting a former student of twenty years, learning the difference between a split-tailed ant and a scorpion, visiting the opera, and warding off a pick-pocket were also felt to be significant experiences.

Several participants talked about stages in their personal development as significant experiences. One teacher made his/her first personal "black" friend, and another felt an important change when he/she recognized African art as more than the crude work originally assumed. An understanding of the racial and ethnic prejudices of the Nigerians was significant for one of the teachers, and surprise at the ability of his/her counterpart teacher to interweave traditional and modern lifestyles was mentioned by another.

Almost all of the participants mentioned how difficult it was to limit themselves to only three significant experiences. As one participant wrote, "When I got off the plane in Lagos, I was much like a sponge rung dry, and every day since then I have been constantly soaking up new experiences." This seemed to express the feeling of most of the participants—the whole experience was significant!

Question # 6: In what ways have your thoughts and feelings changed with respect to Nigeria and its people over the past five weeks?

Most participants felt their thoughts and feelings towards Nigeria had changed significantly during the project. Although both negative and positive changes were noted, mostly, these changes were a result of increased understanding and therefore resulted in a more positive outlook.

Two participants felt there had been no major change in their attitudes. They felt they came with a totally open mind and therefore, their feelings developed, but did not change. For all of the teachers, a general sense of greater awareness and understanding of how and why things functioned in Nigerian society were the major changes after five weeks.

An appreciation for Nigerian culture and lifestyle was gained through personal contacts and experiences. Impressions of the female's role and of polygamy changed as they were understood within the context of family structure and society as a whole. The friendliness and warmth of the Nigerian people

were surprising to many. Several mentioned that this characteristic gave them renewed faith in the ability of men of all races to live together.

Other changes concerned climate expectations, geographic features, western influences, and poverty. The weather was pleasanter than anticipated, and there were not the extreme changes expected in geography from rain forest to grassland to desert. The role of the wet/dry seasons in the economy of Nigeria was also better understood.

Several participants were surprised at the lack of western influence in Ibadan, but were amazed at the adaptability of the Nigerians to incorporate some aspects of western life with the more traditional culture. One participant mentioned realizing that everything western is not necessarily better, and experienced greater appreciation for former customs and values.

An interesting change in attitudes towards poverty came for some when it was realized that Nigeria was a different country—America's standard of poverty could not be imposed. Negative feelings towards a military government and police were erased when they were seen functioning within the society. There was not the censure of freedom expected under this system.

A general understanding of the problems of a diverse, developing country seem to have been prerequisite for changing attitudes. With this understanding, a subtle beauty was often discovered in the lifestyle of the Nigerians. A respect and admiration for the Nigerian people often followed—and this attitude change is one that will be remembered.

Question # 7: Has this experience led in any way to a better understanding of yourself? If so, what have you learned?

The overwhelming majority responded positively to this question. Eight of the sixteen teachers mentioned patience as one of their characteristics that was tested and strengthened during the visit. They learned the need for self-discipline within a group situation as well as in a different cultural setting, and were proud and surprised at their own levels of tolerance.

A clearer understanding of how and why people's values develop was mentioned and led to an appreciation for individual lifestyles and cross-cultural

similarities. Several mentioned an increased appreciation of their own culture, and the opportunities it offered to them. Flexibility and adaptability were also characteristics brought out during the visit. The Nigerian pace did not encourage definite schedules, and all the participants were forced to adjust.

Working in a small group for six weeks was a lesson in group relations and interaction. Two of the teachers realized they were not vocal enough and that this was often misinterpreted as disinterest. A need to be more assertive and to take initiative was recognized.

Growth in self-confidence and individual maturity were felt to have occurred for several of the participants. The time away from spouse, family, and close friends, without modern distractions (TV, radio, etc.) gave them time to ponder their own personalities and lifestyles. Some participants were made aware of prejudices they didn't realize they carried, while others, through interracial friendships, were able to erase stereotypes they knew they carried.

Greater self-confidence, greater strength, greater restraint, and individual growth seem to explain the feelings that most of the teachers expressed. Although some individuals seemed reluctant to express their true feelings, a response which begins with the question: "Does anybody really ever know himself?" seems to suggest that this experience required serious self-examination by all members of the group. The answers bear this out.

Question # 8: How can a successful intercultural educational program be instituted in North Carolina given the assumption that teachers and students are not going to have a cross-cultural experience similar to yours in Ibadan? In light of your experience, do you have any ideas as to how teacher training programs for social studies teachers can be improved?

Ideas for development of an intercultural education program in North Carolina were interwoven with ideas for improved teacher training programs. Further developments along the lines of the Duke Project were often mentioned, with improvements in screening, personnel, and resource use. Suggestions for organization, materials, and methods for cultural learning were diverse, but there was considerable overlap. The suggestions are as follows:

Organization

1) Each school system could develop their own program of intercultural education, along state-set guidelines. These would be locally administered.

2) Qualified and interested leadership is crucial. Leaders should have been a public school teacher recently, as they know what can be practically instituted at the schools. Creativity is another important characteristic, as this will serve to motivate teachers and students. These leaders should work with a planning committee.

3) Some agency should make resource material available. Committees should be organized to examine material on people of other cultures and compile a list for use by teachers.

4) Summer workshops should be offered to prepare teachers.

Teaching Methods and Materials

1) Use people-oriented texts and materials that emphasize people and their culture, not chronology. Stress the relevancy of social studies to the student's life, and the need for cultural understanding as a basis for world order.

2) Role-playing can help make the activities people do in another culture come alive (clothing, food, language, etc.).

3) Use novels, biographies and other works by indigenous authors.

4) Use artifacts, slides and other media; students like to see and feel.

5) Attempt to get the students to empathize with the people being studied. Help them realize the human universals.

6) Encourage the visitation of museums as well as other forms of cultural exchanges.

7) Encourage an exchange of letters, films, information, and materials with students of another country.

8) Subscribe to magazines for teenagers in other countries.

9) Invite foreign students on college and university campuses to spend time at school, talking to both teachers and students. They can be an invaluable source of information.

Teacher Training and Selection

Much concern was expressed over college preparatory programs for teaching. In addition to feeling there should be more screening of applicatns who

enter the field, college programs were criticised for neglecting to teach students how to teach. Some of the suggestions for improvement were:

1) More internship work which should be required for all.

2) Stress human relation work, that is, how teachers and students interact.

3) More specialized training is desired in a specific culture. Stress visitation of area to be taught. Encourage field work and travel.

4) Encourage analytical and critical thinking; hopefully, this will then carry over into teaching.

5) Screen potential teachers for dedication and enthusiasm. The feeling was that everyone cannot teach. More sensitive and knowledgeable teachers are urgently required.

6) Interest and eagerness to be involved are also traits that should be looked for in potential teachers.

7) College and university professors teaching education should visit the public school classrooms frequently.

Continuing Education: Workshops and Cultural Centers

The earlier programs at Duke were seen as a good example of the type of work that can and should be done. The important points were:

1) Separate teaching units should be developed; the teachers were enthusiastic about the people-oriented approach.

2) Intensive study of an area of interest should be required of all teachers. "One can't teach what he doesn't know!"

3) Work in sensitivity and human relations experiences for teachers.

4) The availability of resource material to examine is a must.

Other suggestions for workshops were:

1) Model teaching units should be given to teachers as examples of how the people-oriented approach can be put into practice in the classroom. Objectives and procedures should be included.

2) The North Carolina Department of Public Instruction should set up workshops across the state. More resources need to be funneled into this activity.

3) Use foreign consultants as speakers, counterparts, and advisors in these workshops.

4) Set up cultural centers that include art, music, and literature exhibits of a specific area. Ideally, one participant would like to see each county set up a representative "African village" that students and teachers could visit.

5) Spend time with families of different cultures in the area to gain a cross-cultural perspective.

Generally there was a great deal of enthusiasm expressed for implementing these programs. Time and funds were recognized as major obstacles. However, such an intercultural program seems feasible.

Question # 9: "It is assumed that mere acquisition of knowledge about another culture is a typically inadequate means of achieving intercultural/ international learning and understanding. The purpose of this project and each participant is therefore to identify the processes that are most effective in achieving understanding." Please comment on what you believe these processes are.

All of the participants agreed that one cannot really understand a culture merely by acquiring academic knowledge. Generally the teachers felt the best way to understand a culture was to "experience it." Methods of doing this in a culture ranged from visiting a home, school, or place of work, attending a church, eating the food, and participating in special events, to more personal sensory experiences. Two of the participants felt that hearing, seeing, tasting, smelling, and touching things in that culture were the key to understanding it. Learning the language, observing personal interaction in daily life, and sensitivity programs were also considered important. Personal contacts and friendships were felt to be invaluable for answering questions and providing new perspectives on lifestyles.

Introspectively, an understanding of one's self and one's own culture, flexibility, and an open mind were often mentioned as necessary characteristics for one to achieve understanding. A general love or concern for people, interest, and willingness to learn and empathize with another culture were emphasized as perhaps the most important factors. One must be willing to leave his/her regular frame of reference and move into another society's lifestyle without comparing

or making value judgments. Observation, participation, and interaction, the processes which lead to a better understanding, can occur only if these motivational characteristics are present. One member noted that not only do these processes apply to other cultures, but that they are the *same* processes used to understand persons representing other cultures in the United States.

Question #10: Evaluate the impact of the project upon the participants and the value of the project itself.

Responses to this question were varied and showed a hesitancy to evaluate others in the group. Generally, there was a feeling that everyone who came benefitted tremendously. The group was not a closely knit one, as some had hoped. Although there was some personal interaction, close friendships within the group were not formed. There were personality clashes and one member expressed strong feelings of racial polarization and exclusion; but, most were pleased by the general efforts of all the participants.

Although the project as a whole was unanimously felt to have been a success, several weaknesses were mentioned. Lack of preparation in the planning of activities and poor scheduling were mentioned. Seclusion on the university campus, time "wasted waiting," and a lack of more direction in group discussions were also mentioned as program weaknesses. Two participants mentioned that they would like to have travelled more, visiting a small village, or a French-speaking country, to gain a broader perspective. The participants felt their counterpart teachers were not adequately prepared for their visit, and consequently were not uniformly efficient in their role. More contact with counterparts on a one-to-one basis (rather than four-to-one) was recommended. Living accommodations, the food, the congeniality of the group, and the use of counterpart teachers were considered strong points of the project.

The project was generally considered to have been a fantastic experience. Those mentioning program weaknesses still felt that the strong points outweighed the weak. They realized the experimental nature of the program and felt that with a few modifications, the project could be used as a model for future programs. Many expressed an interest in participating again. The group as a whole seemed to benefit greatly, but, as one individual said, "the value of the trip to each individual is perpetual, but it cannot be assessed."

AN APPROACH TO INTERCULTURAL EDUCATION

Gerald W. Hartw

Identifying the characteristics of a successful intercultural program is by no means an impossible task. The chief components of such an enterprise have been used repeatedly over the years by successful teachers whether the subject matter was explicitly intercultural or not. There is no mystery to the endeavor nor is there a special formula required to accomplish the task. Yet, there is an intrinsic problem that is consistently observed when examining the field of intercultural education; it is the problem of social distance. The recognition of this inhibitive factor is essential if it is to be confronted realistically because social distance implies irrelevancy. The words intercultural and international are symptomatic of the dilemma. By "intercultural" I mean that which occurs between or relates to two or more cultures, thereby connoting an interrelationship or interdependency. The term "international," on the other hand, infers a quality of separateness, of remoteness, pertaining more to "governmental" than to "people" relations. But regardless of the preferred word, each one reveals the inherent problem of distance, and, as used here, distance has just as much meaning in a social or cultural context as it does in a geographical context. We generally demonstrate a greater desire to learn that which has specific meaning and relevance for our everyday concerns while, simultaneously, greater effort is required to learn that which possesses the quality of distance. A successful intercultural program must overcome the problem of distance.

Area specialists in colleges and universities, especially those concerned with African, Asian, and Latin American studies, have recently become acutely aware of this problem. Our training as specialists has been typically narrow, enabling us to convey subject matter to highly motivated graduate and undergraduate students. But when confronted with an essentially disinterested, unenthusiastic audience we become unsure about our task. We feel that they *should* be interested and enthusiastic; if they do not become so, we further assume that it is their fault in addition to their loss. We do not place the blame upon ourselves. In such a manner, the unfortunate barrier between the specialist and the nonspecialist can remain firmly entrenched. The current necessity of making their subjects relevant to a wider and more varied clientele has caused some area specialists to examine their position vis-a-vis those of their prospective audience. Greater flexibility in approaching the subject matter can now be encountered

more frequently. My experience with public school teachers, as described in Chapter I, attests to this changing approach.

Perhaps the greatest advantage and strnegth of intercultural education is the quality of growth it fosters in the learner. Another way of observing a situation or relating to people can readily be found while studying another culture. The learner is enriched by this knowledge, both in terms of becoming aware of how other cultures perceive life with all its complexities and of the way the learner himself perceives them. Nowhere have I found this dimension more forcefully, yet simply expressed than in Hyemeyohsts Storm's *Seven Arrows*. The brief introduction to this book contains the philosophical constructs found within the enduring wisdom of the Indians of the western plains, people known to us as the Cheyenne, the Crow, and the Sioux. Learning the symbolism and poetic quality of their approach to life is an excellent example of the value inherent in becoming familiar with another culture. The validity of the culture of the plains Indians is immediately recognized because its humanity is discernible to the degree that we see ourselves more clearly for having examined that culture. Let me introduce several cultural premises of the plains Indians.

The Medicine Wheel incorporates all that has meaning for the people. It represents the corporate life of the community and embraces those things that must be taught to the young before they can become whole people. It is this quality of wholeness upon which I would like to elaborate. Mr. Storm symbolically portrays the learning processes at various stages in life, from childhood through adulthood. The learning suggested in the following paragraph is the type of learning so characteristic of a traditional society and so necessary to its maintenance: to foster the development of wise elders, elders who have subordinated self-interest to community interest, those who act as the repository of communal wisdom and strength.

> The Medicine Wheel Way begins with the Touching of our Brothers and Sisters. Next it speaks to us of the Touching of the world around us, the animals, trees, grasses, and all other living things. Finally it Teaches us to Sing the Song of the World, and in this Way to become Whole People.
>
> Come sit with me, and Let us smoke the Pipe of Peace in Understanding. Let us Touch. Let us, each to the other, be a Gift as is the Buffalo. Let us be Meat to Nourish each other that we all may Grow. Sit here with me, each of you as you are in your own Perceiving of

yourself. . . . Let me See through your Eyes. Let us Teach each other here in this Great Lodge of the People, this Sun Dance, of each of the Ways on this Great Medicine Wheel, our Earth.[1]

Four great directions exist on the Medicine Wheel: north, east, south, and west. Each of these directions possesses designated powers. To the north is found wisdom, whereas to the south we find innocence and trust. In the west it is the power of introspection while to the east it is illumination, the power to see things clearly far and wide. "At birth, each of us is given a particular Beginning Place within these Four Great Directions on the Medicine Wheel. This Starting Place gives us our first way of perceiving things, which will then be our easiest and most natural way throughout our lives."[2]

The person who perceives from only one of these directions on the medicine wheel remains incomplete. The examples cited by Storm are familiar to us all. With only the power of the north a person will be wise but will be without feeling, essentially a cold person. Those who dwell only in the east will possess the far sighted vision of the eagle but are destined to be separated and essentially untouched by things or people. With only introspection, the power of the west, a person will examine the same thought repeatedly without ever coming to a decision. With only the power of innocence and trust from the south, a person will see everything from the vantage point of a mouse, the symbolic animal of the south. Being near to the ground and unable to see anything except that which is directly before him, the perception of life remains narrowly confined.

Although many people have two or three of these powers or gifts, they remain incomplete. The goal for each of us is to learn our beginning gift, the starting place on the Medicine Wheel, "we then must Grow by seeking Understanding in each of the Four Great Ways. Only in this way can we become Full, capable of Balance and Decision in what we do."[3]

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[1]Hymeyohsts Storm, *Seven Arrows* (New York, Ballantine Books Edition, 1973), p. 1. The capitalized words are the author's; they represent words that would normally be stressed in an oral presentation.

[2]*Ibid.*, p. 6.

[3]*Ibid.*, p. 7

A final consideration from *Seven Arrows* deals with touching, that is doing and involving one's self with the world. "To touch and Feel is to Experience." Some people can live solely within the world of mind and imagination, complete with such emotions as joy and sorrow, but manage to avoid touching; "they do not live and become one with life." They experience vicariously, not realistically, and this too prevents them from becoming a whole person.

According to the wisdom of the plains Indians, the only thing that all people possess equally is loneliness. In all other respects, everyone enters the Medicine Wheel in a slightly different place. Loneliness "is the cause of our Growing, but it is also the cause of our wars. Love, hate, greed, and generosity are all rooted within our loneliness, within our desire to be needed and loved." Loneliness can only be overcome "through Touching. It is only in this way that we can learn to be Total Beings."[4]

Viewing the world and its inhabitants from the perspective of *Seven Arrows* has an appealing quality for intercultural learning when compared to our normal bifurcated approach. The analogy of crossing a cultural bridge embodies the difference. We tend to differentiate between *us* and *them* in our approach to the world community, whereas the Medicine Wheel is the world community just as much as it can represent a cultural entity. Everyone must be included as being in the *us* category because the symbol of the wheel is circular rather than linear. At the same time the complexities and diversities within that world community are neither ignored nor negated. Becoming aware of the various components on the Medicine Wheel is not out of the ordinary for the plains Indian. It represents the norm, the process of growth that is necessary to become a whole person.

I now prefer to think of intercultural education as being within the *Seven Arrows*' frame of reference. Within such a context, intercultural learning becomes a normal commonplace human endeavor to acquire additional perceptions and information about our world community, not simply for its own sake, but for the understanding and growth it will foster in the individual. In turn, this understanding and growth will enable the individual to "become Full, capable of Balance and Decision" in what he or she does. To view intercultural education as being an esoteric exercise, as something unessential—an expendable

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[4]*Ibid.*

frill, is to take a narrow ethnocentric position that is both unrealistic and harmful. It does not reflect the reality of our human, or even our national, existence.

An essential consideration in intercultural education is the manner in which we approach the process. We must continually be sensitive to the necessity, in my opinion, of including people in our endeavors. We are essentially attempting to learn more about the human community of which each of us is a part. There is a consistent but unfortunate tendency to exclude the human dimension since it is subjective and therefore troublesome. It is less vexing to study about economic, political, religious, or social systems in the abstract. There is certainly a place and necessity for this kind of analysis, but its essential "peopleless" quality should be recognized. It would seem more logical to consider such things after the people dimension has been confronted and understood. Therefore when teaching students—those who are learning, whether teachers, youngsters or adults inside or outside a formal learning situation—who are initially being exposed to intercultural education, the teacher needs to relate continually the learning to people, to those fellow members of our human community.

How we approach intercultural education brings us back to an examination of the characteristics of a successful program so glibly referred to in the initial paragraph of this chapter. The actual specifics of what to teach and how to teach are not necessarily vital to this discussion. They are vital only to the individual teacher and I would refrain from suggesting that one category of information is preferable to another. Besides, individual differences in teaching styles mitigate against a lock-step approach that can become dull for students in very short order. But the characteristics that will be identified and briefly discussed are another matter. They are the result of working with generalists, specifically with teachers who needed a knowledge and an understanding of things African to be able to teach their students. Therefore the discussion is not specifically related to the teaching of highly motivated, potential specialists, although why they should necessarily be excluded is not all that clear to me.

Because intercultural education may very well connote distance in the mind of the learner, that is, the establishment of the *us* and *them* dichotomy, an initial characteristic of successful teaching is to make it either a *we* concept as is *Seven Arrows* or insure that the learners are willing to expend the effort to know more about *them*. In effect, this is recognizing a fundamental motivational

element on which our learning hinges. Each of us can recount notable experiences with academic courses. Some potentially interesting courses have been effectively diminished in significance by the teacher. The other extreme is equally a part of our experience. Essentially mundane courses have become meaningful and exciting because of the teacher. By claiming excitement and meaningfulness, we are saying that it possessed qualities which enhanced our understanding of an era, a person, a concept, or whatever. Growth was the end product.

A second factor that enhances learning has already been discussed: the content of presentations and of materials selected for reading should place *people* in a prominent position. Not masses of unspecified people, but real people, individuals who have lived or who are living. There are numerous ways to accomplish this. Biographical sketches, films, and novels are all familiar possibilities. A good novel in particular allows the reader to meet characters who must grapple with value-laden issues and circumstances which reveal to the reader the dynamics of a particular society. The novel lends realism to a society. Familiar emotions are encountered in characters who are burdened with common strengths and weaknesses and who have similar opportunities and problems. The novel also provides the opportunity to reflect and to speculate. Its major advantage, however, comes back to its humanizing feature. The society cannot be considered only in an abstract manner. A subjective quality is present and highly desirable.

Subjectiveness leads us to the identification of a third characteristic: the approach for the learner should contain both the cognitive and the affective. Expressed in another way, it means that the learner's emotions and intellect should both be involved. If only the intellect is involved, factual information can be encountered readily and superficially comprehended, but it remains unrelated to people. Thus a country with an agriculturally-based economy which relies upon a single agricultural export can be analyzed indefinitely and still make little sense to us. But if we introduce a subjective, affective dimension, we can absorb the same material while relating it to a family, to real people who must live with the ramifications of such an economy. Disadvantages of this form of an economy for the family can easily be seen, yet the families survive. Their quality of life may even compare well to examples drawn from industrialized societies. The essential consideration, however, is that a part of the community lives under such conditions and we may question: But do they adapt to it? What are their aspirations, their fears, their perception of our community?

A fourth characteristic finds the content and the materials used relating to the interest and experience of the learner. In a sense this enables the teacher to encourage the learner to go from the known to the unknown; this factor is more important for younger and less motivated learners. By following a people-oriented approach in the first instance, this characteristic does not pose an insurmountable problem. It becomes a question of determining, to some degree, what the probable interests of the intended audience are. As an example, I shall cite the case of the two seventh grade teachers during the summer of 1973 who accepted the responsibility of preparing a unit for their students about the Dan, people living in Liberia and the Ivory Coast.

These teachers chose to concentrate upon the initiation rite practiced by the Dan years ago; an extensive rite intended to prepare youngsters for their societal responsibilities as adults. Boys and girls attended separate rites. The initiates commenced the rite as children but emerged adults, or at least prepared for adulthood. The ritual became the core of the Dan unit because the initiates were of an age similar to the students who would receive this unit of instruction. It was assumed that these students could identify immediately with the Dan initiates: the rite represented the society's former educational system, one dominated by adults; familiar societal values such as authority, obedience, relating to older people, and the good life were discussed; emotions of anxiety, fear, love, pride, and sadness were present; and the realization of a twelve or thirteen year old that he is in a difficult stage of life, no longer a child but yet not an adult. Thus the unit examined the Dan from the perspective of a particular social institution, albeit a very important one for the Dan. But that single perspective enabled the intended learners to use their own experiences and current interests to identify with the people. Commonalities, rather than differences, were intended to create bonds of mutual respect, interest, and concern.

It is desirable for a learner to develop a personal stake in the learning process. Particularly when working with classroom teachers or those who plan to become teachers, there is every good reason for requesting them to develop teaching strategies and materials for their personal use. By doing so, a fifth characteristic is at work, that is combining the talents and expertise of the area specialist with that of the teacher-learner. Learning then becomes a cooperative collaborative endeavor which avoids the problem of irrelevancy.

Implicit in the characteristics mentioned thus far is our sixth factor: a high degree of selectivity in what is taught. An unfortuante affliction of the

academic community is the introductory survey format. Its most valuable merit frequently appears to be the discussion of the mildly curious. Survey courses are designed to cover a subject, i.e., to hide it. Courses designed for general learners should expose the meaningful and the interesting. The meaningful and the interesting varies enormously. Frequently the teacher's enthusiasm for the subject matter at hand is a good guide for determining what to teach. That subject matter which has meaning for the teacher is therefore more likely to be transmitted in an enthusiastic, infectious manner. Certainly an in-depth concentration on a particular subject, with students personally involved in the examination process, will have a more lasting value than a broad survey that purports "to cover" it all.

A seventh characteristic has also been repeatedly implied: the content for generalists should be of an interdisciplinary nature. While a disciplinary specialist may well be able to put together an excellent course for generalists, there is less likelihood that the subject matter will be readily transferable. Disciplinary courses are normally analytic and systematic in their approach. Individuals and small groups of people are necessarily subordinated to general principles and hypotheses. The subjective, affective quality is difficult to include simply because it is inappropriate. An interdisciplinary approach enables the teacher to draw freely upon varied disciplinary elements which will enhance a particular teaching goal.

A final characteristic for a successful intercultural approach is the utilization of representatives of the culture being taught. Whether such persons are foreign students, permanent residents, or whatever, they offer a personal link to what is being learned. How to use such resource persons is another matter. A straightforward lecture or talk of an impersonal nature is probably no more effective than if the teacher did it. Too often such appearances only provide a tedious survey of the country which the resource speaker is no more equipped to provide than the teacher. Inevitably it would be most useful to have the resource person serve the specific needs of the learners, needs directly related to the daily affairs of people. With such an approach the resource person can respond in a personal and authoritative manner. The advantage of the resource person is in the personal experience of being reared in the foreign culture. That advantage should be fully utilized to reinforce the human, the affective dimension. The drama and ceremony associated with the arts should be among the tools of the resource person. They should help to illumine the culture and life of the people.

I have identified eight different factors that appear to me to be critical elements within an intercultural program—no doubt others could and should be added. The central consideration, however, is easily discernible: The understanding of people, of ourselves in our world commuty.

1) intercultural education should foster individual growth in perceiving rel. - tionships to the world community;

2) the content should be basically people-oriented;

3) the content should possess cognitive and affective qualities;

4) the content should be related to the experiences, interests, and needs of the learners;

5) the learning process should be a cooperative endeavor between the teacher and the learner;

6) the content should be selective, that is, an in-depth study has much greater validity than a survey;

7) the content should be of an interdisciplinary nature;

8) individual representatives of other cultures should participate in the learning process when possible to provide a personal, realistic dimension.

The single most encouraging thing about these characteristics is that they represent the familiar. We have all been involved with them to varying degrees. Yet intercultural education continues to cause us concern. From what I have learned while working with teachers over the past three years, it is a concern that can be significantly overcome. It would be grossly unrealistic to believe that the problem can be completely solved: experience with people, and with ourselves, dictates against such wishprone assumptions. Yet our basic stumbling blocks, such as how we perceive intercultural education, what we teach and how we teach, can be sufficiently removed so that successful experiences become the rule rather than the exception and the majority of learners emerge enriched.

To accomplish this urgent educational undertaking, administrators, supervisory personnel, and teachers at all levels of the educational system must work cooperatively together and therefore must communicate effectively. Needs must be clearly articulated by those who have needs, while those in a position to help fill those needs must listen and then shape their responses accordingly. Too

often those in a position to assist (I have in mind here area specialists like myself) react prematurely. We do not listen with sufficient care. We hear imperfectly, make our assumptions, and act accordingly—frequently with discouraging results.

Intercultural education should be a meaningful personal experience for the learner. Since successful teachers are characteristically lifelong learners, involvement in intercultural education continually enhances teacher growth. There can be nothing static about the process. Global issues emerge at an ever-accelerating rate, yet they are essentially human problems involving how we relate to others in the human community and how we in that community make use of our resources. For ultimate meaning, I must join those issues and that community to myself and we all must grow. In the words of Hyemeyohsts Storm, "You too are a Medicine Wheel, and the magic of your Perceiving will be unfolded" as you learn and grow.[5]

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[5]*Seven Arrows*, p. 11.